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THE NATIONAL AND IMPERIAL POLICY OF JOSEPH HOWE.

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Being a study of how he brought Nova Scotia to  
National consciousness and moulded the national  
character, together with a discussion of his ideals  
for her further development.

Submitted by Miriam Norton, University of Manitoba.

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There were two dominating motives in Howe's life which remained indissolubly part of him throughout his long political career-intense love for his country and passionate loyalty to Great Britain. These were the impelling forces which enabled him to bring a national consciousness to Nova Scotians, and to appeal with such success to Great Britain for free political institutions which were to mould, still further, the national character of his own country, and, in the process, that of the other British North American provinces. These can explain his apparent contradictory course, in the process of Confederation, and the propagating of his scheme for imperial unity which was the logical climax to his national policy, for the scheme meant full rights of citizenship for his countrymen in the "glorious British Empire".

It is not to be supposed that the vigorous, idealistic, young "Joe" Howe, who came before the public in 1827, as part owner of the Acadian, and later in the year as sole editor of his own newspaper, the Nova Scotian, was already ruled by these two influences. It is likely that as any idealistic youth he was passionately patriotic, both as a citizen of the British Empire and of Nova Scotia, with visions but no very definite ideas as to what should be the ultimate destiny of his country and how it should be accomplished.(1) Dormant within him, fostered into being by the combined influences of heredity, training and environment they awaited the time when they should emerge, vital, consuming, to arouse a miscellaneous people into a united nation.

Howe's inheritance was emphatically British. His father was a loyalist who had come to Halifax from Boston during the

revolution, his mother was the daughter of an English officer who settled in Halifax during the same period. In a speech at Southampton in 1851 Howe spoke of the influence of heredity upon his convictions:

" In the British people I have abiding faith--I have an hereditary interest in these questions. During the old times of persecution four brothers bearing my name left the southern counties of England and settled in four of the old New England states. Their descendants number many thousands--- My father was the only descendant of that stock who at the revolution adhered to the side of England. I am his only surviving son and whatever the future may have in store, I want when I stand beside his grave to feel that I have done my best to preserve the connection he valued, that the British flag may wave above the soil in which he sleeps." (2)

This love of Britain which he inherited was fostered by environment. Howe was born December 13th, 1804, in a cottage overlooking the beautiful North West Arm of Halifax harbour. Halifax was ultra English. It was the headquarters of the British North Atlantic fleet and the garrison. As a small boy Howe could remember the war of 1812 when British red coats swarmed the streets of the city and great vessels of the fleet rode at anchor in the harbor. Beyond the harbor, a few weeks adventure on the sea lay the mighty country which had brought these forth, which had inspired his father to leave home and relatives to take root in new surroundings; the country round whose shores were woven the thrilling tales he pored over in his childhood days; the home of the poets and writers he revelled in as he grew older.

Not only did his environment foster his love for Britain, it had too, its effect, in stimulating the growth of pride in his own country. Over the same sea, which brought the British packet with government dispatches, swept into the shelter of the harbor Nova Scotian ships fresh from carrying the Nova Scotian flag into "every corner of the globe". Howe could remember when "the



proudest naval trophy of the last American war was brought by a Nova Scotian into the harbor of his native town." (3)

His training and life up to 1827 contributed to the impressions formed by his heredity and environment. His somewhat irregular schooling was supplemented up to the time he was thirteen, when he entered his father's printing office as an apprentice, by long evenings of reading with his father. During the ten years of his apprenticeship, his education was not neglected. He read the Bible and Shakespeare with his father, French with a woman relative, the modern poets with other friends and every book on history and biography he could find in the Halifax public library. As he studied and worked- he was in training. The quiet beauty of the Arm as he swam there along in the summer moonlight, the deep grandeur of the forests stretching inland from its shores which he roamed when at leisure, all contributed to the growth of that love of country, which was the impetus for his work in moulding a national character for Nova Scotia. Before the moulding of character could be begun, it was necessary to rouse Nova Scotians to a consciousness of themselves. The difficulties this task presented will become apparent upon examining the state of Nova Scotia during the years of Howe's youth.

Scattered along the rocky coasts of the peninsula in the first decades of the 19th century, bordering the fine harbors, or settled among the rich valleys in the interior, there were groups of people, of diverse origins, ideals and aims. Public highways were few, so that inter-communication was infrequent. Strong conflicting religious convictions contributed to the growth of isolation

There was no widespread interest in the central government. There appeared to be no tie of general interest save that of a common country.

Tucked away in tiny fishing villages on the wild shores of Cape Breton and quaint simple agricultural settlements along St. Mary's Bay were the greater part of the Acadian French, perpetuating there, their faith, language and ancient simple manners. These were the descendants of the peasants of old France who had been planted in Acadia as part of the colonization plan of Henry IV, who led in the new land a "hard, narrow life of unending toil;" who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new government when their land became the precarious possession of the English crown, and who had been expelled from their homes and scattered among the North American colonies as "a measure of expediency in time of war". From the time they were driven out the Acadians had begun to drift gradually back. After the Treaty of Paris they had by degrees become reconciled, and kept going to Halifax to take the oath of allegiance. By the beginning of the 19th century they were quietly re-established in utter peace and isolation.

Halifax had been founded in 1749 by Cornwallis, by the bringing over of English colonists, mostly soldiers and sailors, and retired army and naval officers. When the colony became the permanent possession of Britain in 1763, and more particularly after the outbreak of the American revolution Halifax became the base of the British fleet in North American waters and the home of the garrison. The seat of government, there, were established, the officers of the crown; there, the old Tory loyalists were settled, so that its tone at the beginning of the 19th century was ultra-English and conservative.

Across the harbor was growing up Dartmouth which had

its beginning in Scotch settlers sent out in 1750. A few miles west, along the coast, round the fine harbor of Merlinguesh was established the town of Lunenburg and beyond it extended the county of Lunenburg, settled by a steady peace-loving German population, Protestants from the Palatinate, the Upper Rhine and Wurtenburg.

In the Western part of the province, occupying the rich lands along the Bay of Fundy, up to the Minas Basin, and part of the beautiful valley of Annapolis, were the American settlers, the Pre-Loyalists whose influx dates from 1758 with Governor Lawrence's proclamation of free grants of land for settlers. These were for the most part intelligent industrious New England farmers, whose training and ancestry had made them independent and resourceful.

The more barren and rockier north-eastern part of the country along the straits toward Cape Breton contained the hardy, sober, pioneer Scotch Presbyterians, who settled in Pictou and Antigonish at the beginning of the 19th century. Here, as wherever they went, the Scotch brought those characteristics which are the best foundation for nation building, the hardy adventurous spirit, determined perseverance, high moral ideals and love of liberty. Tradition and experience had left them jealous in defence of their religious rights.

Sturdy simple Yorkshire English occupied the Cumberland Valley in the North Center adjoining New Brunswick. Skirting the Minas Basin and along the edge of the Cumberland Valley were the Irish settlements.

The county of Guysboro on Chedabucto Bay in the South-east and the large South-west corner of the peninsula, Shelburne County, and the townships of Digby and Annapolis on the Bay of Fundy, were

occupied by the Loyalists who had come to Nova Scotia loving "liberty, under the old banner and under the old forms".

These were the elements to be fused together for the making of Nova Scotia. The material was good, it was the diversity that had to be overcome. This diversity was emphasized by the influence of sectarianism. The Roman Catholics were the largest religious body in the province. There were the French Catholics, the Acadians, in Cape Breton and Clare, who were governed by the village priest; there were the turbulent Irish Catholics in Halifax and the Cumberland District; superstitious Highland Catholics occupied large portions of Cape Breton. The "state" church was predominant in Halifax among the old English settlers. The new Englanders became for the most part Baptists. "The first fervors of Methodism" were brought over by the Yorkshire English; and the Eastern part of the province was the stronghold of the Scotch Presbyterians.

Even education contributed to the growth of sectionalism; the denominational college was the fruit of the sectarianism of the province. At Windsor, aristocratic King's was founded by the Anglicans in 1787. As it did not admit members of any other sect to its corridors the result was the establishing of four more sectarian colleges, (the Roman Catholics, of course having as everywhere their own institutions) "On a hill at Horton" in the New England district rose Acadia, the Baptist college, in 1829 Mount Allison was founded on the border of New Brunswick by the Methodists. Early in the century the Presbyterian college was founded at Pictou by Dr. MacCullough.

From a few of these isolated communities-some from the halls of these sectarian institutions of learning- there had come

through the years, earnest, high-visioned men, to sit in the provincial assembly at Halifax. These were the guardians of the free institutions of the country, who were in training, and their sons after them, for the time of Nova Scotia's awakening. The determination of a few New England settlers, who had gradually drifted into the province after the founding of Halifax, and who had been trained in independence and the working of representative institutions, resulted in the calling of the first provincial assembly, in Nova Scotia, in 1758, nearly ten years after Halifax had been founded by Cornwallis' expedition. Cornwallis' commission had empowered him "with the advice and consent of the council, to summon and call General Assemblies of the Freeholders and planters within your government according to the usage of the rest of our colonies and plantations in America." (4) In the early rush of settlement Cornwallis was too preoccupied to establish the new institutions. When on a remonstrance from Chief Justice Belcher in 1755 as to the legality of laws passed in the province without the consent of an assembly the Lords of Trade and Plantations directed the immediate calling of an assembly "that his Majesty's subjects (great part of whom are alleged to have quitted the province on account of great discontent prevailing for the want of an assembly) may no longer be deprived of that privilege." (5) The first Assembly met at Halifax in 1758. There were to be 16 members for the province at large, 2 for Halifax and 2 for Lunenburg nineteen members in all were returned. Established reluctantly by the local government the first Assembly was of a firm temper. From the beginning it demanded that public officers should furnish tables of their fees.

Although the governor and council continued powerful counter checks on the Assembly the spirit of determination was not subdued

but remained aggressively sturdy in defence of its rights as population increased and representation extended. As time went on the political development of the Assembly reached a standstill; the Council remained supreme and independent. One reason, was the dual control of the public purse. The Assembly had the right of appropriating the money raised in the Province, the Council had control of the imperial government grant; then the Council held the best public offices and had almost exclusive patronage through all departments of the government.

Although the Toryism of Halifax was heightened by the coming of the Loyalists, with them came too, men of independence and political training whose influence strengthened the Assembly. With the advent of more liberal governors such as Dalhousie and Kemt its prestige increased.

Dissatisfaction with the mode of Government raised a spirit of inquiry and criticism. This was helped by the growth of newspapers which began to appear about the beginning of the 19th century. In 1813 A. H. Holland the editor of the Acadian Recorder was imprisoned for his free criticism of public affairs, but this merely increased the popularity of his paper. In 1820 the author of an anonymous pamphlet charging the Council with neglect of duty, in not auditing its accounts as required by law-- Wm. Wilkie- was indicted for libel and imprisoned for two years. His sentence aroused general sympathy in Halifax. The fact that the House itself was as little tolerant of criticism, as exemplified in the Barry episode, did not lessen the value, of the spirit of dissatisfaction, in progress.

In 1826 a committee of the Council, the Board of Customs, ignoring the Assembly, ordered the retention of nearly

half of the aggregate duties of the province for the payment of its own officials. A remonstrance to the Imperial government, by the Assembly, resulted in an act reaffirming the right of the Assembly to dispose of the provincial revenue. Close upon this incident followed the Brandy dispute. The duty which the house had set upon foreign Brandy was not being collected. In the process of the dispute "Agricola" Young, said, "no principle of the constitution is more clearly understood than that all taxes must originate in and be regulated, guarded and directed by the representatives of the people." (6) There was no compromise. The dismissal soon afterwards of the Assembly on the death of William IV and the resultant election brought in another House of the same temper.

This very evident dissatisfaction, which was gradually increasing, would have been sometime productive of reform. The evil lay in the fact that it was not sufficiently widespread. One reason for this lay in the inadequacy of the representative system. The author of "A General Description of Nova Scotia," published by Clement Belcher, in 1825, discusses the paucity of representatives in the House of Assembly. "There are many townships which do not send representatives to the Assembly, such as Ramdon, Douglas, Parrsboro, Aylesford, Wilnot, Sherbrooke, Dalhousie, Clements, Clare, Tuskot, Chester, Antigonish, Guysboro, etc. It is to be regretted that the representation is not more enlarged. The counties are not well divided." (7) This left great bodies of people entirely ignorant as to the doings in the Capital. As Howe said in one of his first speeches in the House of Assembly in 1837, addressing the speaker:

"When on a former occasion, you sir, stood forward to resist the encroachments of that body (the council) they had you at a great disadvantage, the people were comparatively ignorant; there was no organized public opinion in the country." (8)

It was Howe who organized public opinion in Nova Scotia and who crystallized the discontent of the early assemblies into the demand for responsible government. In so doing he welded into one harmonious mass the divergent racial and religious groups which have been described above, and made them feel as Nova Scotians first, friends and neighbors in the common demand for English political institutions.

Howe, like his friend Haliburton, recognized the value of certain conditions and influences upon the moulding of a nation's character. In a particularly inspiring address to young Nova Scotians at the Mechanics' Institute in Halifax, he pointed out the stimulus which love and pride in one's country would be to the growth of a strong national character, necessary in its turn to the country's advancement.

"Will you pledge me with your faith that there shall come a time when Nova Scotia will be a name of distinction and of pride; when it shall be a synonym for high mental and moral cultivation and if any ask how you can talk of a distinct national character without a severance of the colonial connection or how can you hope to raise Nova Scotia on the scale of importance without schemes of spoliation and conquest, criminal and absurd, here in my answer-- can we endanger our friendly relations with Britain or excite the jealousy of our neighbors by becoming wise and virtuous, by establishing a high standard of moral excellence, by exciting among our population a desire for distinction." (9)

"You who owe your origin to other lands cannot resist the conviction that as you loved them, so will your children love this and that though the second place in their hearts may be filled by merrie England, romantic Scotland or the verdant fields of Erin, the first and highest will be occupied by the little Province where they drew their earliest breath." (10)

In the same speech it is apparent that Howe laid emphasis on geographical conditions in the moulding of a country:

"The All-wise Being, who divided the earth into continents, peninsulas and islands, who separated tribes from each other by



mountain ranges and unfathomable seas; who gave a different feature and a different tongue, evidently intended that there should be a local knowledge and a local love, binding his creatures to particular spots of earth, and interesting them peculiarly for the prosperity, improvement and happiness of those places. The love of country--begets a generous rivalry among the nations of the earth, by which the intellectual and physical resources of each are developed by constant exercise." (11)

It is rather remarkable that at the same time similar sentiments were being smuggled into Italy from the pen of the great Italian patriot Mazzini.

"God---divided Humanity into distinct groups and thus planted the seeds of nations--The design of God "is clearly marked out" by the courses of the great rivers, by the lines of the lofty mountains".

"Do not be led away", he exhorted young Italians, "by the idea of improving your material conditions without first solving the national question, you cannot do it."

"Our country is our home, the home which God has given us. Our country is our field of labor. Before associating ourselves with the nations which compose Humanity we must exist as a nation."

"Be everyone of you an incarnation of his country and feel himself and make himself responsible for his fellow countrymen; let each one of you learn to act in such a way that in him men shall respect and love his country." (12)

A similar fine idealism, in Howe, could not be better illustrated than in the following extract:

"If we encourage each other to love the land of our birth and our adoption, if we teach our children, our friends and neighbors that as mind is the standard of the man so is it of the nation, and that it becomes the duty of each individual to cast into the public treasury of Nova Scotia's reputation, something to make her "loved at home, revered abroad" and if this feeling becomes so general throughout the country as to be recognized as a stimulant and a principal of action, our work will be more than half accomplished." (13)

It is noticeable in these extracts that neither Howe nor Mazzini laid any emphasis on the problem of race in the moulding of a nation, Mazzini because although there were many dialects there was only one basic language in Italy, Howe because he believed, in spite of the large numbers of Acadian French in the province, like Durham, that the different peoples of the North American colonies would see the superiority of British institutions and prefer them to any other, and that they would eventually become

absorbed into the British population. (14)

Thus Howe speaks in urging responsible government for the North American colonies:

" I seek to turn your minds to that great nation from which we all have sprung, to which we owe allegiance and to whose institutions it is my pride to look for imitation." (15)

" The population of British North America are sincerely attached to the parent state; they are proud of their origin, deeply interested in the integrity of the empire, and not anxious for the establishment of any other government here than that which you enjoy at home." (16)

In 1834 addressing the Mechanics Institute he said:

"Though addressing an audience of all countries, it is with the conviction that their children are already natives of Nova Scotia. I desire to show you how the certainty that your descendants will be one race and having a common attachment to Nova Scotia, ought to draw you closer to each other in friendly union." (17)

Ignoring as he did the problem of race Howe counted as an influence in the moulding of a united national mind, connection with the past, including the inheritance of British institutions and the heritage left by the pioneers from the early life of their own Province. This was a common inheritance and gave at once something to build upon. Thus he writes in one of his letters to Lord John Russell in 1839:

"Nor is it to be supposed that Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers and Canadians, a race sprung from the generous admixture of the blood of the three foremost nations in the world, proud of their parentage and not unworthy of it, to whom every stirring period of British and Irish history, every great principle which they teach, every phase of freedom to be gleaned from them, are as familiar as household words, can be in haste to forget what they learned upon their parent's knees." (18)

And in the same letter:

"Many of the original settlers of this province, emigrated from the old colonies, when they were in a state of rebellion, not because they did not love freedom, but because they loved it under the old banner and the old forms; and many of their descendants have shed their blood on land and sea, to defend the honor of the crown and the integrity of the empire." (19)

Another influence in the forming of a national character to Howe's mind was that of climate. He describes its influence on a people in the following extract:

" But it may be asserted that the climate of North America is rigorous and severe. The answer we North Americans give to this objection is simple. Glance at the hemisphere which contains three-quarters of the Old World, and dividing the northern countries from the south, the rigorous climate from the warm and enervating, satisfy yourself in which reside at this moment the domestic virtues, the pith of manhood, the seats of commerce, the centres of intelligence, the arts of peace---assuredly in the northern half. And yet it was not always so. The southern and eastern portions blessed with fertility--filled up first, and ruled for a time the territories to the north. But as civilization advanced northwards the bracing climate did its work as it will ever do; and in physical endurance and intellectual energy, the north asserted the superiority which to this hour it maintains."

"The climate of British North America, is the best for raising men and women, the most congenial to the constitution of the Northern European, the most provocative of steady industry."  
(20)

To these influences Howe added the stimulus of position. Nova Scotia was the "Atlantic frontage of a territory which includes four millions of square miles." God has planted your country in the front of this boundless region; see that you comprehend its destiny and resources, see that you discharge with energy and elevation of the soul the duties which devolve upon you in virtue of your position." (21) Then Nova Scotia was situated on the sea-coast, the nearest to Great Britain, with open harbors all the year round for the reception of commerce.

"Canada is a noble colony full of resources, but its harbors are closed with frost in winter, while those of Nova Scotia and of most of the Maritime provinces are open all the year round. For general commerce you will perceive then, that our advantages are very superior." (22)

From the above it will be seen that Howe early comprehended the possibilities of his country. He saw that conditions and material were favorable for the formation of a vigorous national character, if the people could be aroused to national consciousness. This was his first task.

Howe's whole career as a journalist before 1833 was a process of learning, first, the possibilities, then the problems, of his country and transmitting the results of his investigations to Nova Scotians through the agency of his newspaper. In this way he united and prepared the public mind for the great issue of responsible government. To increase the circulation and to establish agencies for his paper Howe was compelled to journey through the inland districts of Nova Scotia and to visit nearly all the seaport towns. (Thus he gradually became familiar with the whole face of the province.) Such scenes as the beautiful valley of Annapolis "where you can ride for fifty miles under apple blossoms," with its comfortable New England farms, the delightful quaint French fishing villages along St. Mary's Bay, Liverpool on the Atlantic coast, with its bustling shipyards, the long rich Cumberland valley where sturdy Yorkshiremen had scarcely probed the coal deposits, thrilled him with their beauty and the promise they gave of a prosperous future for the country. The substance of this he published in the Nova Scotian under the head of "Eastern and Western Rambles". For the next few years these "Rambles" appeared in Howe's newspaper and aroused an unconscious but increasingly common sentiment in the hearts of Nova Scotians, whether French, German, Irish, Scotch or New England, that of admiration for their common country. Thus under the tremendous stimulus of national pride was the first step towards consciousness achieved.

These Rambles had another important result, they laid the foundation for his future political popularity, by the friends he made, as he discussed local conditions with a voluble

group in a prosperous inland town, or after a long day in the saddle, talked to an attentive circle around the farmers leaping fire.

In this first year, too, he attended debates in the Legislative Assembly, and important trials in the courts, and reported them for his paper. Thus he became familiar with the political problems besetting the House and made many valuable friends among the public men of that time. In this year began the contributions of the Club, which moved Nova Scotians first to dry smiles then into vague thought. The Club was a group of friends of which Howe and Haliburton, "Sam Slick", were the leading spirits. They met in Howe's house and planned criticisms of local politicians, in quaint dialect, which appeared weekly in the Nova Scotian.

The following year was marked by Howe's publication of Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia. This was an important contribution to national unity, for it showed the people the tie they had in the common heritage of the past. This year also, Howe began the first of a series of reviews of the public affairs of New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, which were later widely read in those provinces and had a tendency to strengthen the hands of the Progressive parties when the responsible government issue was being fought out.

From that time on Howe's interest in politics became paramount. In 1830 he attended regularly the sessions of the Legislature and began to publish "legislative reviews", critical summaries of the speeches in the House, the writing of which familiarized him with the process of Nova Scotia's government and convinced him of the necessity for reform. As he studied his country's problems his thought grew more liberal. He saw and

made Nova Scotians see with him that their system of government left much to be desired. The following year he held a strong body of public opinion liberal, in the Brandy dispute, and rejoiced greatly in print when the house won the victory. But as time went on and the Assembly failed to fulfil this promise by securing more reforms, Howe took a more independent position and recommended that the men who had been elected to improve the institutions of their country should go forward and do their work or that men of more vigor should be sent to supply their places.

By 1835 Howe's reputation as a journalist of skill and brilliance was established, so that when he published a letter, signed "The People", accusing the magistrates of misappropriating the public funds, and was indicted for libel, his trial attracted wide attention. Precedent would soon have had him languishing in jail. In 1813 A. H. Holland, editor of the Acadian Recorder had been imprisoned for his free criticism of public affairs. In 1820 the author of a pamphlet accusing the magistrates and council of neglect of duty, had been imprisoned for two years. Howe had early in his journalistic career, rebelled against these restrictions on the rights of free speech. In 1829 two newspapers had printed a letter by John Barry (representative for Shelburne) attacking a commission which had condemned his conduct in the Assembly. The editors were called before the bar of the House and reprimanded. While he thought Barry in the wrong, Howe indignantly resented this encroachment on the rights of free speech. "The Assembly claims the right of freedom of speech within its walls and those to whom the press is entrusted claim it without; if editors are brought for offences to the bar of the House

legislators may depend on this that they will be brought individually and collectively to a bitter expiation before the bar of the public." (84)

When Howe decided to defend himself, public interest in his trial increased to fever heat, and he spoke for six hours before a crowded court. When, swept by the tide of his eloquence, the jury enthusiastically acquitted him, the news was hailed with delight by the Halifax crowd who carried him home on their shoulders.

So wide-spread and keen was the attention attracted by the case that Howe was acknowledged, even in the other British North American provinces, as the victorious champion of free speech. The result of this sudden increase of popularity in his own province, was his election to the Provincial Assembly as a member for the county of Halifax.

By this time, Howe had by his personal intercourse, by his insistent voice in the newspaper, aroused Nova Scotians to unity of thought, first in admiration of their country, then in common desire to make the name of Nova Scotian "one of distinction and of pride." He had delineated and explained the political problems with which their Legislature was futilely struggling, so that the public mind of Nova Scotia, was ready much sooner than that of the Canadas, "for those free institutions", the gaining of which Howe felt was essential to the growth of national character.

In some of his early speeches in the House of Assembly, Howe discussed this progress in the growth of the public mind. In the course of the debates on the twelve resolutions he said:



"The learned gentleman (Mr. Wilkins) has declared that they are mere echoes of sentiments I have promulgated in the Nova Scotian--to the opinions promulgated through the press I still adhere, and I am happy that they are sanctioned by the judgment and sustained by the sympathy of the people we represent." (26) That the people were ready for reform he asserts in the same speech, "thanks to the press--the people of Nova Scotia are not all so ignorant---the yeomanry perfectly understand the questions which have been agitated." (26)

In his speech on rescinding the resolutions he assures the Assembly that the people are behind them:

"The people all have confidence in those who are struggling for their rights and appreciate their motives; when on a former occasion you sir, stood forward to resist the encroachments of that body (the Council) they had you at a great disadvantage--the people were comparatively ignorant; there was no organized body of public opinion in the country. But now thanks to the press which some gentlemen abuse, the people are keenly alive to the doings in the capital." (27)

Through the long fight for responsible government Howe kept the people well informed, as his own conception of free institutions grew. He kept the public mind steady during the Canadian rebellion and confuted the charge that his own party was in collusion with the Canadians by publishing his letter to H. R. Chapman (one of the political agitators of Lower Canada, who wrote to ascertain the feeling of the reformers in Nova Scotia) written in 1835. In this letter, from which the following extract is taken, Howe sternly repudiated any supposition that Nova Scotians would join Canada in open rebellion leading to annexation;

"Though feeling no sympathy for the official faction in Lower Canada, and hating and despising as much as you do those men and measures that have in all the British North American provinces excited opposition and complaint; and although laboring to reform the public affairs of this my native country, I have for sometime past, shared, in some degree, the suspicion which I assure you very generally prevails in the Lower colonies, that the party with which you act are determined at all hazards to precipitate a contest with the mother country; and in order to effect this object the redress of real grievances (the existence of which is admitted) was to be sought in a spirit the most uncompromising and offensive-- Assuming therefore that a sudden and forcible breach of the connection with Great Britain is the wish of the



whole, or of a large portion, of the Papineau party of Lower Canada, I may state with confidence that at least seven-eighths of the population of the lower provinces would be opposed, in sentiment, to any such movement." (28)

Under the pressure of legislative duties Howe retired from the editorship of the Nova Scotian and sold the newspaper at the end of 1841. In the spring of 1844 at the request of the liberal party, he took over the editorship of the Nova Scotian and the Morning Chronicle, both papers being owned by his friend Mr. Annand. Howe was left free to use the papers in defence of the Liberal cause, which at that time was hard beset in the battle for responsible government by the governor and the Conservative parties, who were bent on carrying on a war to the knife with the popular party. Howe wielded the editorial pen to such good effect that he was able to rout the last vestiges of obstruction from the path of full responsible government. His weapon was ridicule, in answer to the floods of defamatory matter released by the governor and his partisans in the organs of the government. "We have often seen him," said Annand, in recalling this time, "dashing off an editorial which was to set the whole province laughing or thinking. We have known him to work when he was weary, inspire others with cheerfulness when his heart was sad; he thought as little of galloping over two or three counties and addressing half a dozen meetings as others of a drive around the Point." (29)

When the public mind had become thus united, Howe pointed out that the next step in development was that of self-government. This was essential if the newly-awakened pride in their country was to be sustained and if they were to be true to their British inheritance.

Howe considered free institutions so vital and necessary for the growth of the national character that for the ten years following his election to the Legislature he labored unceasingly until they were fully established; those "defences and securities of freedom, without which, education, property or even life itself are of little value."

Howe early comprehended that the only solution for the political situation of the day, which had reached a deadlock, was a system by which the executive of the province could be influenced by the people through their representatives,--"that truly British idea". In his letter to H. R. Chapman, referred to above, discussing dissatisfaction in the North American provinces with regard to their mode of government, he wrote:

" We do not blame upon the people of Britain the various acts of misrule of which we complain, because we have seen them struggling against the same enemies that have usually oppressed us. The mischievous anomalies and burdensome exactions of the aristocratic factions have been if anything more severely felt in Britain than in the colonies.-- We look forward confidently to the time, when by our own efforts and the cordial co-operation of the Liberal party at home we shall be able to destroy our local factions and enforce economy and popular control.-- Our people have no desire to hasten on this period, which shall compel us to enter upon the business of self-government before we are prepared. But if you really desire to continue the connection with Britain until these colonies have grown up to "man's estate"- until they are riper in knowledge, virtue and resources than I think they are now; and merely seek such changes and reformatations as are essential to their peace and prosperity- to the controlling of local factions and the enjoyment of economical and responsible government, then I will go with you heart and hand, and---the great bulk of the people in these Provinces will go with you also. (30)

The House of Assembly was dissolved, November 1836. In the new House which met on January 1837 Howe sat as the Liberal Member for Halifax county. From one of his election speeches, showing his platform for reform, the following extract is taken:

"But it may be asked, what are these liberal opinions?  
What are you contending about? As respects this town we

"ask for a system of responsible government-such an administration for our municipal affairs as will give to the lower and middle classes that influence in society to which they are entitled, and place all the officers who collect and expend the people's money under the people's control."

"As respects the general concerns of the Province we ask for those free institutions which while they truly reflect the feelings of the people shall best promote the happiness and prosperity of the country. The British laws are modified to suit the condition of the colonies and we see no reason why British institutions of the colonies should not be in like manner adapted to our situation. All we ask is for what exists at home- a system of responsibility to the people extending through all the departments supported at the public expense." (51)

The reform party wasted no time in getting under way. The attack was begun by resolutions brought up in the house by Lawrence O'Connor Doyle and Howe against the practise of the Legislature Council sitting with closed doors. This practise had been complained of for years but had resisted all efforts of previous Assemblies to abolish it. Howe called it "an insult to the people." The resolutions were passed and sent to the Council who arrogantly denied the right of the Assembly to comment on its mode of procedure. Indignation and anxiety reigned in the House the following week. When Mr. John Young moved some conciliatory resolutions, Howe with the fearlessness which had characterized all his political utterances up to that date, rose and moved as an amendment, his famous twelve resolutions which embodied all that the House had ever dared to think on and still more. They condemned the preponderance of Anglicans in the council, the presence at the board of the Anglican Bishop, and the consequent unfair distribution of patronage exclusively to Anglicans. They condemned also the fact that the Chief Justice was a Member of the Council, that two family connections embraced five members of that body, and included the resolution

concerning the Council deliberating in a legislative capacity behind closed doors. He then spoke stirringly of the insult which they had received from the Council. It was only another "new lesson in degradation" and if the Assembly did not now assert itself and demand a reconstruction of the Council to conform with the popular ideas it would only be a precedent for continued ones. With characteristic broadmindedness and far-sightedness Howe raised the issue at once out of a mere local squabble for local rights and visioned for his hearers its real importance.

"This is a task", he said, "which I deeply feel involves the peace and freedom of Nova Scotia and although when applied to her alone, these principles may appear of little importance, when I take a broader view, when my eye ranges over our vast colonial possessions, when I see countries stretching through every clime and embracing many millions of people more than the islands to which they belong--- and when I reflect that to a right understanding of these principles, a fair adjustment of these institutions depends the peace and security of these millions of human beings my mind--expands to the magnitude of the theme." (32)

This is a foreshadowing of Howe's later views as developed in his discussion on the organization of the empire, and shows how early he had grasped the principle of "lengthening the ropes and strengthening the stakes." His argument may be stated as follows: Free institutions are the birthright of every descendant of Britons, and the time will come when they shall be the rightful demand of every member of the British Empire. When this shall be realized by the dependent colonies, on a fair adjustment will depend the security of the Empire for, if colonies may not come naturally into their inheritance when they shall have reached man's estate, the very fact that they are British and cannot "believe their origin or disgrace it" will impel them to gain it outside the Empire. That was the importance of the question; on a "fair adjustment of these institutions" depends the security of the empire.

Seeing this Howe urged upon Nova Scotians the necessity for gaining their birthright. Thus he continued in eloquent defence of his twelve resolutions:

" I wish to live and die a British subject, but not a Briton only in name. Give me, give my country, the blessed privilege of her constitutions and her laws; and as our earliest thoughts are trained to reverence the great principles of freedom and responsibility which have made her the wonder of the world, let us be contented with nothing else. Englishmen at home will despise us if we forget the lessons which our common ancestors have bequeathed.---(33)

" Were you to tell an Englishman that you, the commons of the country had no effectual control over the other branches of your government, that here exists no check which ensures responsibility to the people, what opinion would he form of the degree of freedom which you enjoy?---Sir, it is because I feel that the institutions we have are not English that they are such as would never be allowed to exist at home and ought never to be sanctioned by descendants of Britons in the colonies that I desire to change." (34)

After much discussion the resolutions were passed by the House. There was consternation in the Council, but it hoped to crush the unwanted boldness by a policy of superior contempt, so ignored eleven of the resolutions and sent down an arrogant message to the House, demanding the rescinding of the one declaring that some of the "Members of his Majesty's Council have evinced a disposition to protect their own interests and emoluments at the expense of the public, and threatening the withholding of supplies ( a treat which rarely failed to prove effective) if its wishes were not complied with. (35)

It was a crisis in Howe's career: a crisis in the political development of Nova Scotia. There seemed but one thing to do, if the provincial works were not to suffer for the ensuing year, to give in and save the revenue; and the house, breathless, awaited the issue. Howe was ready for it. He moved that all the resolutions should be rescinded, thus securing the revenue, but when the interruption of public works should in this way be guarded against, that the resolutions should

be embodied in an address to the crown. In the meantime, he assured the House, the resolutions, with the debates upon them, had gone to the country, so that the Council's arrogant move was the best illustration the Assembly could give to the people in their own country, as to the powerlessness of their representatives, and to the home authorities, as to the defective constitution of the colonies.

"It will be remembered that we have already stated in one of our resolutions the powerless condition of this assembly; we now give to the country a practical illustration." (36)

The address went to England together with an elaborate defence of the existing constitution prepared by the Legislative Council. It elicited "the sovereign's cheerful assent to the greater part of the measures." The Legislative and Executive Councils were to be separated and were to be composed of men from all parts of the country and of various religious denominations. The Governor was recommended to call to his councils men who enjoyed the confidence of the people's representatives. Unfortunately the spirit of these dispatches was not interpreted alike by Sir Colin Campbell and the Liberals. Only one Liberal was appointed to the councils and when reduction in numbers came with Lord Durham's commission, he was left out.

At the end of the session in 1838 another address expressing grievances was sent to England. In November Lord Durham had gone home in disgust, with his report of affairs in Canada. At the opening of the session of 1839 the house awaited with anxiety the answer to their address. The dispatches were found, in comparison with the liberal ones of the year before, to be reactionary in tone. Such was the depression aroused in the assembly that it was decided to send a delegation to England to present a new series of resolutions. Howe's speech at this time was very emphatic:

" My conviction becomes every day the more rooted that if we are to remain part of the British Empire, and I pray that we ever may, we must be British subjects to the fullest extent of British constitutional freedom- that freedom which consists in proper responsibility of government and the control over the officers of the province--At this time last year dispatches came to the house which were worthy of a British minister and which enabled us to grasp great principles with feelings of satisfaction and triumph. Such feelings had been expressed in the house and throughout the country and the disposition was to meet the principles included in those dispatches in a spirit of manly freedom and firmness---I wish that the British minister could have seen the feeling on both occasions; that his eye could run over every cottage in the country and observe the alteration which his altered policy will occasion; those of last year were received with extreme pleasure those of this with disgust--I had almost said execration." (37)

The debates on the resolutions were sharp and listened to by crowded audiences. In the face of the opposition of the local Council, lack of comprehension on the part of the Imperial Government and the skepticism of hundreds of thousands throughout the colonies, Howe persisted that responsible government was not "responsible nonsense" but necessary for peace within the empire. The resolutions passed the House and in the spring the delegates sailed for England.

In the meantime Lord Durham's Report was put before the Commons in England, and published in the colonies. Howe spoke of the Report as "the best exposition that has yet been given of the causes of the dissensions in the Canadas and containing the best suggestion for the avoidance of kindred troubles in all the provinces, that has yet appeared."

"The remedy for the state of conflict between the people and the local executives which has prevailed in all the colonies, has two prime recommendations, being perfectly simple and eminently British. It is to let the majority and not the minority govern and to compel every governor to select his advisors from those who enjoy the confidence of the people and command a majority in the popular branch!" (38)

In June, Lord John Russell brought forward his eagerly looked for measure for the settlement of Canadian affairs. When it was found that he negatived the essential conclusion of Durham's report, the necessary for responsible government, sorrow and discouragement reigned among reformers in all the North American provinces. But Howe insisted that Lord John Russell and the Imperial authorities did not fully understand the colonial situation and that when they did they would no longer allow conditions arousing so much discontent to prevail, so he addressed four letters to Lord John Russell, which were immediately published in newspapers all through the colonies and were printed in pamphlet form and sent to every member of both houses of Parliament, to the clubs, the reading rooms, and newspapers, in the mother country.

In these letters Howe reviewed the objections made by Lord John Russell, to conceding responsibility to the colonies, and demonstrated very plainly that they were based on a lack of comprehension of the colonial viewpoint:

"Had your lordship been more familiar with the practical working of the existing colonial constitutions you would not perhaps have argued the question as one in which the obvious manifold and vital interests of the colonies were to be sacrificed to fear of some vague and indefinite injury that might be sustained by Imperial interests if executive power were taken from the ignorant and given to the well informed." (39)

Lord John Russell's speech had been based on the assumption that if the legislatures of the colonies should have control over the executive, which were the advisors of the governor, they might propose a measure, concerning which, the governor had received contrary instructions from the colonial office. "In that case how is he to proceed? Either one power or the other must be set aside, either the governor's or the House of Assembly's. In the case of foreign



affairs whatever the wishes of the Assembly they would have to be set aside if they conflicted with those of the governor. "Neither could this analogy be maintained with regard to trade between Canada and the mother country, or Canada and the foreign country; how then can you adopt a principle for which such large exceptions are to be made?" (40)

In this discussing Durham's recommendation Lord John Russell failed to see that Durham had separated the fields in which the governor should accept the recommendations of his advisors and in which he should act only on the advice of the colonial office.

Howe argued, in answer to Lord John Russell's assumption, that the colonists were British, with as much intelligence and insight into the affairs of the Empire as the inhabitants of Great Britain, therefore they would as little think of proposing measures injurious to Imperial interest as any self governing city in the British Isles.

In the following extracts from the letters, it may be seen that Howe was endeavoring to convince the Imperial mind, that far from inducing the colonies to turn from the mother country, the granting of responsible government would by allaying dissatisfaction, make them happy to remain within the empire; that in the decrease of friction between the parent country and the colonies- lay the only hope for Imperial unity.

It appears to me that a very absurd opinion has long prevailed among many worthy people, on both sides of the Atlantic; that if the colonies should receive responsible government they would fly off, by the operation of some latent principle of mischief which I have never seen very clearly defined.--- This suspicion is a libel upon the colonist and upon the constitution he claims as his inheritance; and the principles of which he believes to be as applicable to all the exigencies of the country where he resides, as they have proved to be to those of the fortunate Islands in which they were first developed." (41)

" This objection is based upon the assumption that the interests of the mother country and those of the colonies are not the same; that they must be continually in a state of conflict; and that there must be some course or policy necessary for the Imperial Government to enforce, the reasons for which cannot be understood in the colonies nor its necessity recognized.-- of all the questions which have agitated or are likely to agitate Nova Scotia New Brunswick or Prince Edward Island how few rightly understood , can be said to involve and Imperial interest or trench upon any principle dear to our brethren at home or the concession of which could disturb the peace of the empire?"--- For what have they asked? For the control of their own revenues and the means of influencing the appointment and acts of the men who are to dispense them, and who are besides to distribute hundreds of petty offices and to discharge functions manifold and various within the colony itself." (42)

"If British statesmen would let these things alone- and it is over these only that we claim to enforce responsibility--and confine themselves to those general arrangements affecting the whole empire it would be impossible to conceive how such a case could arise as that supposed by your lordship. " (43)

"Why then should it be taken for granted that we are not English in our habits and customs, our education and training, our capacity to discern the boundaries of authority and that therefore it would be unsafe to depend upon our wisely exercising powers, which in the British islands millions exercise for their own security and without dangers to the state." (44)

The result of these letters was to convince the colonial office that the colonies were ready for responsible government and Lord John Russell's dispatches of 1840 were recognized as "a new and improved constitution" by the governors of Canada and New Brunswick. They announced that the "government was to be administered according to the well understood wishes of the people as expressed through their representatives."

In Nova Scotia, Sir Colin Campbell ignored the spirit of the dispatches, and when the House passed resolutions of want of confidence in the Council, he replied that he was perfectly satisfied with the character of that body, the members of which had served him well and that he recognized no change in the colonial constitution.

The timid wavered but a stern majority supported Howe when he moved an address to the crown requesting the removal of the governor. From the house the contest went to the country. The Tories called meetings and circulated addresses appealing to the people on the grounds of sentiment, denouncing the Assembly's cruelty toward "the poor old soldier". Howe went everywhere through the province vindicating the Assembly's act. He made it quite clear that the address condemned Sir Colin Campbell only on account of his advisors and revealed them in a self-seeking light in that they were willing to sacrifice the governor rather than resign. It gives an illuminating insight into the honesty of Howe's course, that Sir Colin Campbell on being recalled before his departure for England, gave him his hand with the assurance he respected the sincerity of his opposition and that he felt he had "acted as a man of honor." (45)

The policy of the new governor Lord Falkland, who arrived in the Province in September, was to choose an executive from both parties, Howe with two other Liberals accepted a seat on condition that more Liberals should be drawn into the Council as vacancies occurred and that all members should hold office upon the tenure of public confidence. If the Tories were angry at the decrease of their influence and the appointment of Howe to the cabinet, and some of the Liberals were inclined to grumble that changes were less sweeping, content stole over the province like the mildness of spring. In a letter to his constituents, at this time, Howe indicated his satisfaction with the change:

To me it is a matter of pure satisfaction to reflect that by a peaceful agitation of four years in which from one end of the country to the other there has not been a blow struck or a pane of glass broken, great changes have been wrought and invaluable principles established, for which other countries have for centuries struggled in vain, or have only purchased by civil conflict and blood and tears---

It is true that the people have talked politics and discussed general principles of government, but all the time they have been rising in the scale of social comfort and mental and moral improvement--- The people read and think more but they drink and fight less; there is more industry with higher intelligence to guide it-- I am happy that the improvement in the character and condition of the people has kept pace with the improvement of their institutions." (46)

But the struggle was not yet over. While Howe and his colleagues insisted that full responsible government had been granted the Conservative leader, Attorney-General Johnston and his supporters, denied the existence of anything of the sort. "To concede such would be inconsistent with colonial relations" said Johnston.(49). Alex. Stewart said "Responsible government in a colony was responsible nonsense, it was independence." (50) In the session of 1843 Howe came into direct conflict with Johnston on the question of sectarian colleges. A bill had been introduced into the legislature for the foundation of "one good college, free from sectarian control and open to all denominations, maintained by a common fund". (49) Howe approved the measure as one that would make for further unity in the province, while Johnston, who was a Baptist, and a governor of Acadia college, supported outside the house by the college professors who were his friends and who wrote and lectured publicly against the government, as ardently opposed it. When the governor during Howe's absence in the country, where he was holding meetings and addressing them on the subject, being influenced by the Tories in the Council, dissolved the House, and the ensuing elections returned a House of uncertain character, Howe recognized that a unanimous cabinet was a necessity and told Lord Falkland that he would form one or resign and allow Johnston to form one. The governor hesitated, reiterated his policy of a cabinet representative of all parties in the house, then proceeded to appoint a brother-in-law

of Johnston's, holding no seat in the house, to a vacancy in the Council. The three Liberals at once retired.

The governor descended to the indignity of a bitter personal war with Howe through the press, while Howe, laughingly parrying his thrusts, consolidated the Liberals in the House, and through the country. During the summer, while Falkland, on tour, was met coldly and received deputations "urging him to listen to counsels of those who are sincerely interested in the peace and prosperity of the country" (50) Howe visited the whole province, everywhere explaining the principles of responsible government, laughing at the administration, and addressing eager, passionately enthusiastic audiences, with eloquence that left simple hearts stirred, cherishing burning words which were to bear fruit at the next election.

After the fiery personal contest of the session of 1845 "the friend and champion of his people" spent the summer with his family at Musquodoboit from whence he was invited to address many public meetings. He had reason to be proud of his reception. Wherever he went were "the upturned faces of the patriarchs beaming with a blessing." In October he visited the county of Lunenburg to speak to the sturdy German population who had always sustained the government. "I half expected they would have broken my head" he said afterwards,--they carried me home on their shoulders." The following extract from his speech well illustrates the effectiveness of his method in securing the support of the people:

"I have been told that it was useless to come here, that the German loved not free discussion; can this be true? Does the old German blood lose its ennobling qualities when it circles through a Nova Scotian's veins--you are Nova Scotians, you are my countrymen, bound to love---the land which Providence has given you for an inheritance for your children---and it is a foul slander to assert that in the struggle for her dearest interests you will be found behind the rest of her population." (51)

In the session of 1846, dispatches were read in the house, which had been written by Lord Falkland to the colonial secretary, containing criticisms of the Speaker of the local Assembly, and his brother. The House was indignant and Howe seized the opportunity for an object lesson. He saw that if the governor would continue to criticize men he did not like in dispatches no public man's reputation was safe. He denounced "the infamous system by which names of respectable colonists are libelled in dispatches sent to the colonial office" and said if it were continued "some colonist will by and by, or I am much mistaken, hire a black fellow to horse whip a Lieut-Governor." (52) "I wanted to startle, to arouse, as the fire bell startles at night," he said afterwards in his defence. Lord Falkland was recalled. His successor, Sir John Harvey was a man with liberal sympathies. The election campaign of 1847 resulted in a triumphant return of Liberals. When the new House met in January 1848, a vote of want of confidence in the executive was passed and when the Council resigned J. B. Uniacke was empowered to form the first cabinet under responsible government. The ten years conflict was at an end.

Thus did Howe win for Nova Scotia those free institutions which he considered so necessary for the development of her national character. It is undoubtedly true that it is in a large measure due to Howe's efforts that responsible government was granted to the British North American colonies before a serious break with the mother country should have occurred. By his careful educating of the Nova Scotian public mind, he made her a steady example to the Canadas, by his comprehensive explanation of the principles involved, in his

letters to Lord John Russell, he convinced the Imperial statesmen that the colonies were ready for self government and Nova Scotia's attitude of respectful but decided remonstrance proved that they could intelligently manage their own internal affairs. In discussing the granting of responsible institutions in his "Tribune of Nova Scotia" Grant asks "was the winning of responsible government a good thing?" and adds "we are apt to take this for granted." (53) It is evident that apart from the fact that the system of government from England was cumbersome it would ultimately have prevented the growth of a proper spirit of self-reliance and pride in the colonies. A vigorous national spirit in a country is necessary to the production of the highest things in life and concentrated nationalism was impossible while the people of the country had no control over their government. "In a new country," says Lionel Curtis in The Problem of the Commonwealth, "the way for a people, capable of self-government to develop a fresh and distinctive character of their own is to qualify for the control of their own affairs." (54)

Thus Howe's intense local patriotism and his admiration of British institutions combined to make him demand, for the sake of both, what would develop Nova Scotia's character and keep her in fellowship with the mother country. Further pondering on the problem led to his conception of an Imperial federation, which is discussed below.

While, upon the achieving of self consciousness, he recognized free political institutions as the greatest impetus to the growth of the national character, there were other influences which Howe saw would contribute to the growth of unity and prestige, of these education and the railroad were the most outstanding.

It is not to be thought that a man of Howe's insight into the great policies and influences which mould national character should neglect to consider the importance of national education in this process. From his speech urging the introduction of free schools in 1841, his speeches during the educational war in 1844-45 when he fought for a non-sectarian college, and a later speech in 1849 when he again urged the foundation of free schools it may be seen that Howe's ideals for education in his country were broad and practical. That they never were formed into a policy and put before the province with himself behind it, is owing to the fact that they were propounded during the process of winning responsible government, when his own mind and that of the public was engrossed with that issue. It is ironical that their discussion should have led to the first division in a united national mind and served to prepare the ground for his hreat opponent Tupper, in later years, to reap, where he had sown. Examination of Howe's speeches on education reveals the method by which he sought to impress the importance of the question on the public mind. In his first year in the legislature he had condemned the council for seeking to strengthen their power "by monopolizing the education of the country--the most determined hostility has been displayed towards every establishment which might diffuse among the masses the blessings of education. But, sir, with all their efforts they could not dam up the streams of knowledge--- I thank God that the alumni of the bookshops and the printing offices are springing up over the length and breadth of the land to divide the intellectual arena with them." (55)

In the breathing spell, after the first phase of responsible government, Howe attempted to introduce a system of free schools



based on public assessment. It was an unpopular measure but he urged the members to forget self and risk their seats if that should be necessary to establish it.

"Are you Nova Scotians and afraid to do that which will tend to elevate the country to the highest moral grade? If so you are unworthy of the name. It is your duty to establish the character of the country--by raising the intelligence of the people." (56)

"The subject of education is one of the most important which a legislature can be called upon to consider.---If the people are intelligent they will not be without the means of raising money, or making roads, of forwarding enterprise and regulating matters of trade. Among the uneducated the spirit of self-sacrifice so necessary for the wise management of public affairs is wanting". "We are 200,000 in a narrow space are we not called upon to increase our energies and how? By increasing information and intellect, by adding to the intelligent minds who can illustrate the important axiom that knowledge is power."

The method was--"first give your civilization a base co-extensive with the province and let its apex pierce the highest heaven of imagination and art-- be certain all have the rudiments leaving the higher steps to those who may be inclined to ascend them." (57)

The problem of higher education in Nova Scotia was so inextricably bound up with the religious interests of the province that it was a delicate one to attack. It is not surprising that Howe with his free and tolerant religious beliefs and his impatience of anything which tended to divide the public mind should have alienated the interest of such a denominationally narrow body, as the Baptists of Nova Scotia, when he discussed the broad question of non-sectarian colleges. When the measure was brought up in the House in the session of 1842 Howe supported it with all his eloquence. He saw that the sectarian colleges instead of devoting their full efforts to inspiring the youth of the country were wasting much energy in petty rivalry, which tended to lower the national ideal.

We saw that the sectarian system was poisoning social and public life, that these sectarian colleges instead of being the abodes of learning, and the depositories of a refining spirit and a rational philosophy were like feudal castles in the olden times, each the rallying point, of a party whose only object was to strengthen their own position among their neighbors and levy contributions on the public." (57)

He advocated the measure not only on the grounds that all efforts should be concentrated upon perfecting one college, which was sufficient for the needs of Nova Scotia, rather than being inadequately diffused over five, but on the grounds that education should be above all barriers:

"I deny the necessity for sectarian colleges", he said in the course of a debate, "When I look abroad on the works of providence I see no sectarianism in the forest or in the broad river which sparkles through the meadows; and shall we be driven to the conclusion that men cannot live together without being divided by that which ought to be a bond of Christian union." (59)

This question, as is shown above, brought him into conflict with the leader of the Tory party, Attorney-General Johnston. Howe had already had a personal dispute with him and had been attacked by the organ of the Baptist body, as had Johnston in the Liberal press. When the professors of Acadia college took the field as politicians, and wrote and lectured publicly against the government, Howe's disgust at this course, taken by men, who should have been above all others, the exponents of high national ideals, transcended the bonds of prudence. He ridiculed and attacked them so unmercifully that he caused the Baptists in the province to unite against him so that at the next election they were entirely alienated from liberal sympathies and the Liberal majority in the House was lost.

Viewing the matter in the light of Howe's former utterances on education his course may be more easily understood, on the grounds

of principle if not upon those of expediency.

When the House met again in the new year, the next phase of the responsible government battle was entered upon, and the question of education was laid aside. The next four years were spent "struggling for a constitution for my country."

In 1849 when the subject of education was revived, thinking of the "fierce conflicts of 1843" and the results, Howe's utterances were more guarded.

"We know by experience that a large portion of our people favor the denominational mode of education. Though my own opinions are unchanged, I think it would not be wise to revive sectarian bitterness in the country again if it can be avoided.---I prefer the combined the free, the provincial endowment for education---others prefer the denominational mode; assume they are wrong, and I believe they are, their opinions, even their prejudices are entitled to respect. From the old man between whose knees I was trained, I learned--to esteem the resources of religious zeal even when ill directed and to prefer peace and honorable terms to a fruitless and aggressive war. In the spirit imbibed from that early training and strengthened by our past experience I would now invoke gentlemen on all sides to deal calmly, wisely, generously with the subject before the house.

Although Howe's measure for a system of free schools based upon public assessment, did not pass the house of 1841, his persistent advocacy of a liberal policy in education and the educational reforms secured as a result of his efforts in the session of 1849, paved the way for the success of Tupper's great school measure in 1864.

It is not surprising that such an earnest and discerning student of national affairs, as Howe, should have early recognized the part the railway might play in the development of his country. Five years after the first railway was built Howe was advocating the construction of railways in his own province, as a stimulus to commerce (61) and he was one of the first men in British North America to recognize their nation building force. As in the case

of responsible government he had visioned the importance of that question to "our vast colonial possessions" so he saw first what the railways would accomplish for Nova Scotia and then for the whole empire.

In 1835 Howe had written a series of articles in the Nova Scotian recommending the construction of a railway from Windsor to Halifax as a means of increasing commercial prosperity. The question remained in abeyance while the responsible government issue was engrossing the attention of the people. After 1845 the public mind in the North American colonies began to be agitated extensively, by the discussion of railway projects, and all sorts of schemes for intercolonial railways and lines of connection with prosperous centres in the United States were in the air. In the summer of 1850 a railway convention was held at Portland to debate the feasibility of a line connecting that city with the Maritime provinces. On the return of the Nova Scotian delegates a public meeting was held in Halifax before which the reports of the convention were placed. At the end of the discussion Howe rose and after a survey of the somewhat impractical plans of the delegates, moved that Nova Scotia's portion of the road should be built by the provincial government, "as it is the first duty of a government to construct and control the great highways of a country." (62) The proposal met the enthusiastic approval of the meeting and the motion was carried.

When an application to the Imperial authorities for financial aid, in the building of the road, was refused, Howe was delegated to go to England to enlighten the Imperial mind as to the

possibilities of development in the North American colonies, and to alter if possible the decision respecting a guarantee for Nova Scotia. It is characteristic that Howe, in approaching the Imperial authorities should have discussed the proposition in relation to its importance to the whole of British North America, and urged the necessity for Imperial interest in the means of opening up the vast resources of the colonies, as a policy, which would serve as a great link of empire. In a letter addressed to Earl Grey shortly after his arrival in England, after urging the reasons for giving financial assistance for Nova Scotia's great public works, he continues, characteristically widening the scope of the discussion:

"The idea of a great intercolonial railroad to unite the British American provinces originated with Lord Durham--- it must be sound statesmanship to aid colonial governments whenever they will assume the responsibility of constructing and controlling the great highways, no less necessary for internal improvement than for national defence." (63 )

In his second letter to Earl Grey, written two months later, he wrote:

"Every mail brings fresh evidence of the feverish longing and intense anxiety with which all classes in the Provinces look forward to the establishment of those great lines of intercolonial and continental communication which are not only to bind us together, and secure to the British provinces great commercial advantages, but which would with cheap steamboats reduce the Atlantic to a British channel and continue the Strand in a few years to Lake Huron, and ultimately, perhaps, (so rapidly does the world advance) to the Pacific Ocean." (64)

The intercolonial railroad combined with a cheap system of Ocean transportation would by facilitating intercourse draw closer the bonds of empire.

"What are the political effects? That the British Islands throw off not only the bodies but the souls--the clustering affections and every-springing recollections of home, with the

hope to revisit it which if not realized, soothes to the end of life and would if the prospects were rational be then bequeathed to the next generation. Whenever gratified the effects would be conservative of British feelings, and a thousand links of love would be thus woven to bind the two countries together."--let us then have the omnibus, not only to carry the working classes of Great Britain and Ireland to the virgin soil that awaits them, but to bring them back--"

"Men will go forth from these islands to British America as they now go from Hampshire to Wiltshire; and thousands will return every year to tread the scenes which history hallows, or if need be to defend the temples where our common ancestors repose." (65)

In speaking to the people of his own country, when he returned, his tone is similar: the question was discussed as a great national policy of development:

" This money is offered for the purpose of enabling them to complete in an incredibly short space of time and with security and ease great internal improvements-- which will bind them together into one prosperous community, animate them with new hopes and aspiration and ultimately elevate them from the colonial condition to that of a great and prosperous nation, in perpetual amity and friendship with those glorious islands to which we trace our origin and to which through this great boon so much of our material prosperity will in all time to come, be traced." (66)

He made them thrill, too, with a vision of the work completed:

" I will venture to predict that in five years we shall make the journey hence to Quebec and Montreal and home through Portland and St. John, by rail; and I believe that many in this room will live to hear the whistle of the steam engine in the Rocky Mountains and to make the journey from Halifax to the Pacific in five or six days."

" With such objects in view--with the means before us to open up one thousand miles of this noble territory to increase its resources and lay bare its treasures---all minor questions of mere local interest should give way." (67)

Howe's speeches and letters on the subject attracted wide attention and interest in England and he left for home in the spring of 1851 with the assurance of the financial support of the mother country for the building of the intercolonial railway. He received an enthusiastic reception in Nova Scotia and in the other provinces, where he went to urge the acceptance of the terms offered by the Imperial government. The project was everywhere accepted and approved.

When the whole country seemed unanimous, on the question, there gradually arose disquieting rumors. Agents of great English contractors began propagating attractive schemes for the building of the roads by private companies. New Brunswickers wished a different route for the part of the line which was to run through their country. As the Imperial guarantee was offered on condition that the original route should be retained, in the process of the dispute, it was suddenly withdrawn. When Howe saw that the other provinces were succumbing to the alluring propositions of contractors agents and that his scheme would not be accepted he withdrew from the discussion and devoted his attention to keeping Nova Scotia clear of intriguing offers. He insisted that "the great highways of a country" should be built and controlled by the people.

At the beginning of the session of 1854, after allowing the Opposition a year in which to develop their plans and to bring forth sound propositions for the building of the railroad Howe again brought up his measure for the government roads. The government was finally authorized to construct the provincial railways under the supervision of a Board of six commissioners of which Howe was made Chairman.

The period of Howe's railway administration in his own province was marked by faithful and untiring service, during which the construction of the lines proceeded speedily and efficiently. It was during this time that Howe's quarrel with the Irish Catholics caused a second break in national unity. In the winter of 1855 Howe was sent to the United States to secure recruits for the British army for war in the Crimea, under the foreign enlistment bill. While he was in New York, William Condon, the president of the Irish society of Halifax sent a telegram to a New York paper stating that

Howe had entrapped Irishmen in Boston for war service under pretence of giving them railway employment. Howe was mobbed and had to make his escape through an hotel window. He returned to Nova Scotia with no very pleasureable feelings towards the Irish of Halifax, too late to campaign for his seat in Cumberland, to which his future great rival Tupper, was elected. This was the beginning of Howe's quarrel with the Catholics of Nova Scotia. In May occurred the Courley Shanty riots, in which a number of Irish Catholic labourers on the Windsor railway destroyed the shanty of a Protestant workman who was reported to have ridiculed their religion. Howe as president of the railway was active in prosecuting the chief offenders. Failure to convict them added to his anger already aroused towards the Irish Catholics, while Howe's part in the incident contributed to the growth of Catholic hostility.

The following month Howe attended a public meeting in Halifax called to prepare an address to John F. Crampton, the British minister at Washington, who had been dismissed by the United States government for his part in encouraging foreign enlistment. In the course of the proceedings opposition was raised by some Irish Catholics present at the meeting. Howe sprang to his feet and made a bitter speech accusing them of little less than treason. This was followed by an angry war through the press during which Howe wrote recklessly, denouncing the disloyalty of the Irish Catholics and calling them enemies of the Empire.

Howe's course on this occasion cannot be easily justified. He had due cause for anger against portions of the Irish population, sufficient to warrant his attitude of censorship, but political prudence



should have restrained his hand, for his actions alienated the Catholic portion of the country, which had ardently supported him during and since the battle for responsible government, and caused the defection of the Catholic supporters of the government in the House, so that the Liberal Ministry had to resign. This course provided the means for the advance of Howe's great rival, Dr. Tupper, who seeing his opportunity became the professed champion of civil and religious liberty in the province and rode into power on the strength of the Catholic vote.

Thus Howe's railway administration came to an end. His three years' work saw railway construction in Nova Scotia well under way, with a minimum of public expense. Without arguing the question of government as opposed to private ownership of railways, it is sufficient to note that due to Howe's insistent advocacy of a policy of government control, and its acceptance by the province, Nova Scotia was able to construct those early lines with none of the perplexities and financial difficulties which beset the other provinces, so that Nova Scotia entered confederation with a comparatively small public debt, and with the completion of an extensive programme of railway construction, while Canada and New Brunswick came in with a huge burden of debt and no great development in public works to show for it.

Howe advocated government control of railways, because he saw in the railway a great force for the development of a nation. Because he had reverence for great policies which should tend to national development he thought that the people of a country should influence and exercise control over that which should have such far reaching effect upon themselves. Thus he argued that the railway, which would ultimately prove the means of facilitating intercourse and thereby contributing to the growth of unity, and the means of

increasing the commercial prosperity of the country, should be built and controlled by the people. The following quotation is taken from a speech on the question.

"We may be told that railroads are not matters in which Governments should interfere. I differ entirely with those who entertain such opinion, and I do not hesitate to propound it as one of the guiding principles of policy which shall run through the whole course of my after life, that I shall, while in any cabinet press them to take the initiative in such works as this. It is the first duty of a Government to take the front rank in every noble enterprise; to be in advance of the social, political and industrial energies which they have undertaken to lead---the great highways- the channels of intercommunication between large and wealthy sections of the country-should claim their especial consideration; and when I am told that we should hand over for all time to come this great western railway to a private company, I have to such an assignment a serious objection. The roads, telegraphs, light-houses, the standard of value, the administration of justice, these are the topics with which a Government is bound to deal. Then if it be the duty of the Government to maintain, in the heart of our country those great highroads through which its commerce must flow, it is equally their duty to provide the best; those which the exigencies of the country require and the improvements of modern science suggest." (68)

His discussion on the railroad as a link of empire, gave Howe an opportunity for suggesting the necessary for, and the advantages of, empire organization, as a means of strengthening the association.

Howe's jealousy for the rights of the little country he had raised up, together with his intense pride in the British connection, led to his conception of a great scheme for imperial unity, based on his realization that his countrymen in Nova Scotia and the other colonies must attain to the status of equals with their brethren in the mother country, within the empire. That his solution of the problem may be, considered in the light of advanced thought in Imperial relationships, today impracticable, does not take away from the greatness of the first conception, and the fact that many years later it was revived and continued to be a popular one, and that the problem still agitates the colonial and imperial mind, is a tribute to his prophetic statesmanship.

It has been said above that Howe's Imperial policy was the logical climax to his national policy, that is to say it was only the final step, the rounding off, as it were, of the national policy. His aim had been to give Nova Scotia a national character, to make the name of Nova Scotian one of "distinction and of pride" "without a severance of colonial connections." This was possible for were not Nova Scotians merely Britons in another part of the world, whither they had brought the same qualities for which the British race is everywhere respected. Howe had visited the homes of his countrymen and had talked to them of Nova Scotia's beauty and resources and had filled his newspaper with her eulogies, but while continually stimulating their pride in their own country, at the same time he stimulated their pride in the empire and the British connection. He exhorted them to prove that "there does not exist within the wide range of the British Empire a people more proud of their name and more attached to the government of England than the people of Nova Scotia." (69) In the following which is a typical passage, may be seen Howe's pride in the nation of which Nova Scotia aspires to become an integral part.

"The nation of which we make a part and of which we are neither serfs nor bondsmen but free, equal, and unfettered members, has no parallel either in ancient or modern times. It extends to every quarter of the globe; the sun never sets upon its surface, its mighty energies are wielded to--protect to enlighten, and benefit mankind." (70)

Nova Scotians were not yet worthy of equal rank with other British subjects, but they might become so by keeping their eyes fixed upon the examples which the mother country affords.

"Throughout these discussions I have turned and I seek again to turn your minds to that great country from which we all have sprung and to which we owe allegiance and to whose institutions it is my pride to look for models of imitation." (71)

It was to enable Nova Scotians to serve their apprenticeship in the use of British institutions that he had devoted so many long years to the struggle for responsible government.

"If I were asked what is this question which we are approaching I would say that it is the foundation of a constitution resembling that of England, which lies at the base of every good government and there can be no wise and satisfactory administration of public affairs without it." (72)

Thus when he had made them proud of the connection, he told them that they must raise their country up to be a worthy member of this great empire. Before they could do this they must have free institutions to which in virtue of their position and their inheritance they were entitled. Howe was not willing to allow Nova Scotians to remain content with mere imitation and apprenticeship. As the following passages illustrate he insisted that they would be Britons "here" as well as "on the other side of the Atlantic", when they had served their apprenticeship through imitation and could claim their rights as the reward of duties well performed.

"I wish to live and die a British subject, but not a Briton only in name. Give me give my country, the blessed privilege of her constitution and her laws; and as our earliest thoughts are trained to reverence the great principles of freedom and responsibility, which have made her the wonder of the world, let us be contented with nothing else. Englishmen at home will despise us if we forget the lessons our common ancestors have bequeathed." (73)

"My conviction becomes every day the more rooted that if we are to remain part of the British Empire and I pray that we ever may we must be British subjects to the fullest extent of British constitutional freedom-----My anxiety is to have Nova Scotia, as has been well expressed, incorporated with the islands on the other side of the water; I wish to make every Nova Scotian feel free from the every sign of bondage, either of mind or of body, confident that he walks abroad a Briton, in full equality with his fellow subjects elsewhere. To raise them to that character, to enforce those principles I have taken some trouble--" (74)

"To every Nova Scotian it is no light matter that the country of his birth, in whose bosom the bones of hardy and loyal ancestry repose, and whose surface is possessed by a population inferior in

none of the physical , moral or mental attributes, which distinguish his race, to any branch of the great British family, should be free and happy." (75)

"Sir when I go to England, when I realize that dream of my youth, if I can help it, it shall not be with a budget of grievances in my hand. I shall go to survey the home of my fathers with the veneration it is calculated to inspire; to tread on those spots which the study of her history has made classic ground for me; where Hampton and Sydney struggled for the freedom which she now enjoys; where her orators and statesmen have thundered in defence of the liberties of mankind. And I trust that when that day comes I shall not be forced to confess that though here the British name exists, and her language is preserved, we have but a mockery of British institutions; that when I clasp the hand of a Briton on the shores of my fatherland he shall not thrill with the conviction that his descendant is little better than a slave." (76)

Thus it may be seen that Howe's Imperialism was the source and mainspring of his local patriotism, which led him to desire that Nova Scotia should be in no way inferior to the mother country. Every Nova Scotian was to "feel confident that he walks abroad a Briton, in full equality with his fellow subjects elsewhere." This made him demand responsible government on this premise, "if we are to remain part of the British empire and I pray we ever may, we must be British subjects to the fullest extent of British constitutional freedom."

After responsible government was achieved, Howe came to the conclusion that it did not make them "British subjects to the fullest extent of British constitutional freedom" for "North America sends not one member to the national council which regulates her trade, controls her foreign relations and may at any moment involve us in war." Thus it became clear that "all the employments of the empire must be open to them and the highest privileges of British subjects conferred." "If this cannot be done a separate national existence or incorporation with the United States are dangers to be gravely apprehended." (77)

"I prefer full incorporation with them ("our brethern across the water") in one great empire; free participation with them in its good and evil fortunes, its perils and distinctions" (78) and that was the problem

which led to his conception of an Imperial federation. The problem may be stated as follows: If colonists are to be true to the best in them, they are entitled to form a nation and to control their foreign relations as well as their domestic affairs. It is to their interest as well as that of the mother country that this should be achieved within the empire, so the question followed how was this to be done?

This is the very problem which is before the commonwealth today. Thus Sir Clifford Sifton discusses the need for the settlement of Canadian status:

" The vital need however for constitutional action arises in connection with our external affairs, by which I mean Canada's relations with everything and everybody outside of Canada , including the parent empire. In respect of these relations there is need for immediate action." (79)

In almost the same words Howe, in his first discussion on the question of a larger relationship, wrote Lord John Russell in 1846, the same year which marked the end of the battle for responsible government.

" Apart from questions of internal administration upon which I conceive that enough has already been said, there is another aspect in which our North American provinces should be viewed--their external relations to the parent country and to the world at large." (80)

and although he has not thought the matter through and presented any tangible scheme it is interesting to note that he regarded the participation in external affairs as the natural corollary of responsible government.

The problem which he saw and which appeared to him a pressing one did not enter the colonial mind of his day; responsible government won, they stopped there, satisfied. Sir Francis Hincks in criticizing this attitude of Howe's insisted that, even then without

representation in the Imperial parliament, without any influence upon foreign policy without any consciousness of childish dependence, "it the British North American colonies) is part and parcel of an empire and its people are entitled to participate in all the advantages of British subjects." (81) So too, was Howe in advance of Lord Durham who seemed to think that the colonies should rest with the right to manage their internal affairs.

"The mother country requires control over "the constitution of the form of government- the regulation of foreign relations and trade with the Mother country, the other British colonies and foreign nations- and the disposal of the public lands. This control is now sufficiently secured by the authority of the Imperial legislature; by the protection which the colonies derives from us against foreign enemies; by the beneficial terms which our laws secure to its trade-- a perfect subordination on the part of the colony on these points is secured by the advantages which it finds in the continuance of its connection with the empire." (82)

That the granting of responsible government was incomplete and that the right to manage their domestic affairs must be only preliminary to their demanding the full rights, that of managing their external as well as their internal affairs, did not occur to that great liberal imperialist. If it be true, as Lionel Curtis says that "a philosopher may discern the ultimate destination to which a principle will lead the society which adopts it, but a practical statesman, hardly ever," (83) (e.g. Durham) then Howe must be accounted both statesmen and philosopher for Howe saw that the very inheritance of the spirit of the mother country which demands freedom in all her institutions would finally lead for a desire in her colonies for the same freedom, and he wished the question to be settled now while the colonies were still contented beneath the shield of England.

If Howe's attitude was advanced in comparison with that of the public men in the colonies, and with that of an Imperial statesman with a particularly keen insight into colonial affairs, it was even



more so in comparison with the majority of British public minds on the same question. There were two schools of thought in England in regard to the fate of the colonies, one contained the shortsighted, who said "the colonies are more trouble than they are worth, let them go", and the other, the pessimistic, who thought that the ultimate destiny of the colonies was independence, that the grant of responsible government was but a prelude to their dropping off like ripe fruit from the parent stem. Howe answers both these schools in the following quotation:

" The policy then of rearing them (colonies) with the thought of separation ever in their minds, of prematurely preparing them for separation, or of rudely casting them off, appears to me an unsound policy. The idea to be cultivated instead of that of the parental relation, with its inevitable termination at the close of a very limited period, should rather be that of a partnership which may last for centuries, and need not terminate at all, so long as it is immediately advantageous -- I would have faith in the future- in our common brotherhood (which ought to count for something) even less than in the conviction founded on our daily experience that it is to our interest to keep together." (84)

This is the most advanced version of Howe's policy which was that of "lengthening the ropes and tightening the stakes." (85) In this he is the direct precursor of the most advanced thinkers on imperial relationships today, the less opportunity there is for friction, the greater will be the security for the relationships of the empire, "the idea to be cultivated is that of partnership so long as it is mutually advantageous", or so long as the outlook of the whole empire remains common.

In his outlining of a scheme for the organization of the empire, Howe is the direct precursor of another school-those imperial federationists which sprang up as a reaction to the separation school, of which Goldwin Smith was the last brilliant advocate, in the latter decades of the 19th century; and the Round Table school of the present century to which colonial action in the Great War gave impetus, whose



whose advocates had the avowed purpose of propagating the scheme, for the purpose of educating the public mind for its ultimate realization.

In his passionate answer to Sir Francis Hinck's criticism of his Organization of Empire speech Howe gives the following summary of his reasons for his desiring a closer organization:

" I desire to keep the empire together; to organize and strengthen it, to rally round the national flag, the energies of millions who strike no blow in its defence; to bulwark the British Isles with natural allies--to draw into Imperial employments the high intellects which embellish, the energies which control the destinies of its distant provinces. To teach Englishmen to value their own flesh and blood; to teach colonists to look to this great metropolis (he was writing in London) as an arena which at any moment they may be called upon to tread; to Westminster Abbey, not as an antique pile of masonry covering the bones of their fathers, but as the sacred depositary where their children may be laid, when they have discharged in open and fair fields of emulation the higher duties of empire and won its proudest distinctions." (86)

From his early letters to Lord John Russell written in 1846, from his letters to Earl Grey in 1851, in his speech at Southampton, and his great speech on the Organization of the Empire in his own Assembly in 1854, and in his reply to Francis Hincks, in answer to Hincks criticism of the organization of empire speech, it is quite evident that Howe had come to the conclusion delineated above. He knew that there was the problem to be faced and wished to bring colonial and imperial thought to play on it. In these speeches there was no definite scheme proposed, there was merely a reiteration of the problem, thus he wrote Lord John Russell:

" North America is to be governed and not one North American near to lend you his assistance. What is done for North America should be done promptly, generously, in a spirit, not of a grudging stepmother giving a gratuity, but of brethren sharing an inheritance." (87)

and Earl Grey:

" From the national councils of his country the British American is shut out. If the seats which many whom I have left behind me could occupy with honor to themselves and advantages to the empire, are still vacant in the national

councils, let Nova Scotia be consoled by the reflection that her past history pleads for her on every fitting occasion." (88)

Thus he spoke in Southampton:

"We have now the means and the leisure to devote to the questions-- of our external relations with the rest of the empire and with the world at large and to consult with you on the imperfect state of those relations." (89)

and in the local legislature when he had been thinking a longer time on the problem and when there is no railway policy at stake to make him careful:

"Remembering only that I am a Nova Scotian, a son of a Loyalist a North American, a true subject to the Queen but one whose allegiance to be perfect must include every attribute of manhood every privilege of the empire."

"Nobody ought to be surprised if two and a half millions of British subjects accustomed to the forms and securities of freedom, physically as enduring, and intellectually as intelligent, should at least ask for the same political status as the cockneys of London or the weavers of Manchester." (90).

In his zeal for arousing interest in the question, Howe puts himself in a somewhat contradictory attitude. On the one hand he is continually impressing on the people of Great Britain and the colonies that the value of the connection is mutual, as the following passages illustrates:

"Then I ask will any Nova Scotian who pretends to be a statesman, will any North American with his heart in the right place lightly entertain the idea of withdrawing from the enjoyment of free commercial intercourse with 260,000,000 beings; from participation in the securities, the sources of pride, which such an empire affords, to form without cause an isolated community of two millions and half or even 10,000,000 or seek a dishonorable share of the advantages enjoyed by 30,000,000?" (91)

"Is there a British statesman then with a head on his shoulders who looking at what North America is and must become, but must feel the necessity for binding her to the empire by some enlightened provision?" (92)

"But England's political as well as her moral and industrial interests demand that her North American possessions should be improved and strengthened. Suppose the North American provinces neglected and ultimately lost; imagine the territories

of the Republic extended to Hudson Bay and that the spirit generated by two wars, and which a word, a single act, so readily revives pervaded the continent. Strip England of every port on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; leave her without a ton of coal for her steamers or a spar to repair a ship. The enemies outposts and arsenals would then be advanced 500 miles nearer England and the West Indian colonies overpowered and lost." (93)

On the other hand, in order to impress upon Nova Scotians the fact that they must receive their full rights of manhood within the empire he uses a different tone:

"If the British and colonial statesmen of the present day cordially co-operating do not incorporate this people into the British empire or make a nation, of them, they will---make a nation of themselves." (94)

"While the people of two small islands divide the distinctions and the influence of empire among them, they will by and by be awakened by the peaceful organization of a great country whose inhabitants must be Britons in every sense of the word, or something more." (95)

Up to this time Hincks is quite right when he states that if Howe had elaborated the scheme he would have found it to be impracticable.(96) When in 1866 in London, trying to prevent the confederation proposals passing the Imperial parliament, Howe prepared a paper on the organization of the empire, in which mindful of this criticism of Hincks, he is careful to elaborate the scheme as much as the compass of the paper would allow, "for it was to be kept within readable compass." It is this paper that Parkin one of the Imperial Federationists of the '90's quotes as advancing the scheme so comprehensively.

"If the genesis and enunciation of the Imperial federation idea in its modern form is to be credited to any one, it must be assigned to Joseph Howe for this early and comprehensive statement of the main issues involved." (97)

The scheme as delineated in this speech appears below. Howe first states the problem. Arguing that responsible government has not weakened the empire, and that that system of government is the

best that can be devised he continues:

"Assuming then that the powers conferred upon the English speaking colonies leave them, as respects domestic administration, nothing to desire, it is apparent that but for external pressure, the danger from without, we might go on as we are without any material change.--But we have no security for peace, or if there be any, it is only to be sought in such an organization and armament of the whole empire as will make the certainty of defeat a foregone conclusion to any foreign power that may attempt to break it." (98)

therefore the question is:

"How the whole empire can be so organized and strengthened as to command peace or be impregnable in war." (99)

Discussing the probability of war, from different nations, or a combination of them, and questioning the strength of Great Britain, should she be so tried, he arrives at the next point:

" Now I would lift this question above the range of doubt or apprehension, and prepare for all eventualities by such an organization of the empire as would enable the Sovereign to command its entire physical force"--"If we go to war the whole burden of sustaining it falls upon the people of these two small islands. That is not fair and what is worse our unprepared condition makes war at all times possible, sometimes imminent." (100)

This difficulty would be obviated and organization possible only by representation of colonials in the national councils.

The mode of representation to be decided as follows:

" To treat all the colonies which have legislatures, and where the system of responsible government is in operation as having achieved a higher political status than Crown colonies or foreign dependencies and to permit them to send to the House of Commons one, two or three members of their cabinets, according to their size, population and relative importance." (101)

This body was to deliberate upon all questions involving the general interests of the colonies, and they should be "invited to debate," on matters of foreign policy", "Because upon the wise adjustment of these depends the preservation of peace in any breach of which the Provinces would be directly compromised." (102)

"The Crown colonies and foreign populations are not included in this scheme. I pass them by because I do not see the way clear to admit them until they achieve the status of self-governing Provinces with responsible ministers to send; but if they were made to feel that by qualifying themselves for rational self-government, they might ultimately enjoy the full privileges of British citizenship, the effect even upon these portions of the empire, still treated as territories are treated in the United States, might be not without its value in exciting to emulation and improvement." (103)

Then he proceeds to the question of defence,

" Having made this step in advance, I would proceed to treat the whole empire as the British Islands are treated, holding every man liable to serve the Queen in war and making every pounds worth of property responsible for the national defence." (104)

" A bill making provision for the defence of the empire may be prepared to operate uniformly over the whole, and should be submitted simultaneously to all the provinces." (105)

and taxation,

" By another bill to operate uniformly over the whole empire the funds should be raised for the national defence. This measure like the other should be submitted for the sanction of the colonial government and legislatures." (106)

The results of this organization would be phenomenal,

"If once organized and consolidated under a system mutually advantageous and universally known there would be an end to all the jealousies of tax-payers at home and abroad. We would no longer be weakened by discussion about defence or propositions for dismemberment, and the irritation which is now kept up by shallow thinkers and mischievous politicians would give place to a general feeling of brotherhood, of confidence, of mutual exertion, dependence, and security. The great powers of Europe would at once recognize the wisdom and forethought out of which had sprung this national combination, and they would be slow to test its strength. We would secure peace on every side by the notoriety given to the fact that on every side we were prepared for war." (107)

Thus we would have:

"In all the provinces, responsible governments, independent courts and legislatures, a free press, municipal institutions, the entire control of our own revenues (the defence contribution being deducted) and the regulation of our trade, foreign and domestic, and we should have the right of free discussion of international and intercolonial questions in the House of Commons." (108)

and,

"All that the sun ripens on and the seas produce is ours

" without going beyond our own boundaries. If a Zollverein such as the Germans have, or free trade between the states such as the great republic enjoys, be advantageous, we have them on the widest scale, and with a far larger population. While we act in concert, these are the common property of us all and I cannot believe that there is a single province of the empire in which British settlers form a majority, a disposition to break away from the honorable compact under which these advantages are mutually shared, or an indisposition to contribute towards their perpetual guardianship and protection." (109)

Thus in his admiration of the empire and his desire that it should remain secure, and in his realization of the necessity for attaining the full rights of nationhood on the part of the colonies, Howe blazed the trail which was to be trod years later by many ardent students of the problem of the commonwealth, that trail which would lead to Imperial federation- a political union of the empire. The allure which drew them was a vision, of the empire; Britain sitting as a rather snug but benignant Queen, bulwarked by her strong young colonies; as a power so evidently unconquerable by any combination of the nations that they should not even dare to attack her; and exercising a fine moral influence on the remainder of the world and with peace thus secured trade and development proceeding uninterruptedly. The following quotations from the federationists doctrine illustrates this conception.

Parkin writes:

" If we really have faith in our own social and Christian progress as a nation; if we believe that our race as a whole, and in spite of many failures, can be trusted better than others, to use power with moderation, self-restraint and a deep sense of moral responsibility; if we believe that the solid area of our possessions may be made a solid factor in the world's politics, which will always throw the weight of its influence on the side of a righteous peace, then it cannot be inconsistent with devotion to all the highest interests of humanity to wish and strive for a consolidation of British power. It is because I believe that in all the noblest and truest among British people there is this strong faith in our moral integrity and in the greatness of the moral work our race has yet to do, that I anticipate that the whole weight of Christian and philanthropic sentiment will ultimately be thrown on the side of national unity as opening up the widest

"possible career of usefulness for us in the future; inasmuch as it will give us the security which is necessary for working out our great national purposes." (110)

and Curtis:

"Responsibility for the issues of peace and war has nowhere been assumed except by the people of the United Kingdom." (111)

"The Commonwealth with which the cause of liberty is inseparably linked." (112)

and Howe:

"Its mighty energies are wielded to protect and enlighten and benefit mankind." (113)

To less idealistic minds than these, the above serves to point out the impracticability of the schemes for imperial federation. The fine idealism which in most cases led to their propounding was based on the assumption (in these cases, conviction) that the empire when consolidated and strengthened should always exercise its powers disinterestedly; that it was already an example of the highest development in national life and that organization and consolidation should by giving it "preponderance" secure peace to the world, thus giving less fortunate nations an opportunity to adopt and grow in the British political system, "to which there is no parallel in the history of the world." Thus the unkind critic would pick out sentiments such as Howe's "we would secure peace on every side by the notoriety given to the fact that we were on every hand prepared for war" (114) and Parkin's Lord Roseberry is not a Jingo when he suggests that the British people can best secure peace by "preponderance" (115), and say that such a scheme would be the beginning of a spirit of aggressiveness and a desire for dominance, and that the aim was to build up a strong nation which by "preponderance" might dictate to the rest of the world such terms of life as should result to its own advantage.



Howe in the limited compass of one short paper on organization is unable to work out any detailed scheme. There should be colonial representatives in the British Parliament to confer on affairs affecting their own countries generally and to debate on foreign policy. Every man in the empire should be liable for military service by the terms of a bill of defence to act simultaneously over the empire, and the whole nation should be taxed for purposes of defence. If Imperial federation were practicable it is obvious that such a system of representation would be unsatisfactory. Examination of later schemes will discover a common lack of adequate plans for the consummation of Imperial unity. Lionel Curtis is the first to work out a definite plan. This solution is a super-parliament, with the legislatures of the colonies and the mother country on a basis of equality. Each legislature should have power to legislate only on its own affairs. Policies affecting the whole nation should be discussed and settled in the super-parliament to which each colony in conjunction with the mother country should send representatives. It is apparent that such a system of federation could be the only one which would be the logical result of responsible government, and the only way colonies could reach national status by direct incorporation within the empire.

By this scheme the colonies would, on its consummation, assume through their representatives in the super-parliament their share of the burdens of the empire, including defence and the governing of the dependencies (which should as they reached the self-governing stage be incorporated). It obviously became unfair that the burdens of the whole should be borne by a part. "If we go to war " said Howe, " the whole burthen of sustaining it falls on the people



of two small islands. That is not fair." (116) and Parkin wrote, "the security of each part of the system seems essential to the security of the whole, and therefore should be guaranteed by the united strength of all," and Curtis, "Imperial ministers will be forced to confess that they cannot in future preserve the commonwealth inviolate unless cost is distributed on some principle of equality through all the communities whose freedom is involved."

Thus the federation scheme in its completed state meant that colonies as an integral part of the empire should assume burdens on an equal basis with the mother country and that there should be a common foreign policy. The difficulties of thus politically organizing the diverse countries which are assembled under the British flag will be apparent and present at once a reason for the impracticability of the scheme. Curtis and Parkin argue these difficulties away by pointing out the number of common interests, in trade, in increased security against war, and the tie of sentiment. Consideration of the diversity of problems and points of view in this super-parliament, containing representatives from every corner of the empire (Sic-world) with the resultant difficulty of securing common outlook on the part of all to secure anything like unhampered action in the Imperial parliament has been overlooked.

In spite of their impracticable scheme federationists are more advanced on the subject of Imperial unity than many present day statesmen in Britain and the colonies who would scorn their plan for the organization of the empire. The advance is in their realization of the fact that the colonies have not reached national status as long as they have no direct control over their foreign policies. Just as Howe in his insistence on this point was assured by Hincks that

British North America had "all the attributes of a nation", so those who, today, emphasize it are met by a large section of the public mind which insists that the self-governing dominions are nations, now, without direct influence upon their foreign policies. There are two divisions in this body, consisting of the extreme "colonial" school which cries out that all emphasis on nationality in a colony as distinct from the connection with Britain is traitorous, (120) and those who believe that they are very liberal in regard to imperial relationships. The following quotation from a speech of Lloyd George's will illustrate his tendency of thought:

" The position of the dominions in regard to external affairs has been completely revolutionized in the course of the last four years--The Dominions since the war have been given equal rights with Great Britain in the control of the foreign policy of the empire. The machinery is the machinery of the British government, the foreign office, the ambassadors. The machine must remain here. The instrument of the foreign policy of the empire is the British foreign policy--This has been accepted by the dominions as inevitable but they claim a voice in determining the lines of our policy and at the last Imperial conference they were discussing our policy--and we are now acting upon the mature and general decisions arrived at with the common consent of the whole empire." (121)

This does not satisfy the federationist; "A British subject" says Parkin, "who has no voice in influencing the government of the nation throughout the whole range of its operation has not reached that condition to which the whole spirit of our political philosophy points as the state of full citizenship." (122) and Curtis:--"the most important, those affecting the issues of peace and war are habitually settled by the government responsible to the people of the British Isles and without reference to those responsible to the people of the Dominions." (123) "As sure as the day follows the night the time will come when they will have to assume the burden of the whole of their affairs." (124)

"They have cabinets and parliaments of their own but no vestige of final responsibility for anything which affects the issues of peace and war has ever been acquired by them, nor can be so long as their constitution remains as it is now." and Howe, "Tomorrow may come a declaration of war--have we been consulted? Have we had a voice in the cabinet, in Parliament, in any public department by which our fleet is jeopardized? How long is this state of pupillage to last?" (125)

The Imperial federationists in reaching this conclusion played an important part in the progress of empire development, for in their realization of the problem they prepared for the advanced school of today which is facing the problem, but avoiding the allure to which the federationists succumbed, that "danger for the future" which "consists" "in the very attractiveness of schemes and programmes."

(126) The ideals of this school are well illustrated by the following quotation from A. R. McMaster's address to the Canadian Club of New York, 1922,

"That we shall achieve these further sovereign powers I entertain no doubt, and my hope and belief is that they will be achieved by the cordial consent of British people no matter in what portion of the globe they live, who believe as I do, that the ties which bind the British people together are not found in statute books or legal enactments, but are found in common ideals, common hopes and common aspirations for the peace and well-being of mankind." (127)

It is interesting to compare this quotation with the following passage from Howe's organization of the empire pamphlet, already quoted above:

"The idea to be cultivated instead of that of the parental relation with its inevitable termination at the close of a very limited period should rather be that of a partnership which may last for centuries, and need not terminate at all so long as it is mutually advantageous."

There are two divisions in the advanced school also. To the first which would disregard Sir Charles Lucas' warning and seek immediate

constitutional settlement of Dominion status, belongs Sir Clifford Sifton, who is as impatient as Howe was, over seventy years ago, for the settlement of our "external relations with the mother country and with the world at large." The second division of this school believes in the working out of events, with public education on the problems of the nation, to bring about the desired change. Another quotation from McMaster's speech will illustrate this:

"The third school of thought which I may style the national,-- and as the adherents of that school we may class those who believe that the history of Canada is the history of a movement in which Canada has led all other overseas peoples owing allegiance to the British crown, from colonialism to enjoyment of ever larger and larger national life.-- I do not pretend that we have reached the full stature of nationhood but I hold the opinion that in the age of transition in which Canada now finds itself we have already reached a status which gives a most emphatic denial to those who assert that we have never got out of the old colonial condition, and while holding this opinion I fondly cherish the hope that step by step gradually with the best of feeling to other British people and with their cordial co-operation and consent we shall at no distant date achieve the full status of a sovereign state." (128)

Two developments which have taken place within the last year give support to the tenets of this school. The first was the precedent created by the Canadian Parliament, when the appeal came from the Lloyd George government for support of the English position with regard to war with Turkey, when the premier announced that the legislature of Canada must decide whether or not the Dominion should take part in hostilities, instead of sending an immediate acceptance. This signifies a great advance towards the settlement of dominion status in deciding that the dominions are not necessarily at war when the mother country is at war, and presents a marked contrast in views with the federationists whose hope was to secure a common foreign policy. The second development was the establishing of another precedent--in the completing of the Halibut fisheries treaty between Canada and the United States, by the Canadian representative. (129)

The fact that permission had to be secured from the British government does not indicate a lack of importance in the step.

The advanced "national" school looks forward to a series of such occurrences to bring about the gradual formation of satisfactory empire relationships. Obviously one such impetus is impending. As the result of the granting of the right to the dominions to send representatives to the League of Nations, somebody will soon demand the assurance that these dominions are acting on their own responsibility, that they are not present, unlawfully, with a vote, when they are still minors under the care of the parent nation. If the dominions are true to their British inheritance they will respond to the impetus by a declaration of their national status. For obviously that declaration must come from the dominions themselves, not from the mother country.

If Howe were alive today, facing this problem, it is easy to believe that he would have been a member of the "national" school. With confederation behind him and all that has been achieved towards national status, his statesmanship would surely be as prophetic as it was in those days of the battle for responsible government. How eloquent would he have waxed over Lloyd George's "demand" and have rejoiced over the consummation of the fisheries treaty! How he would have urged us to assert our rights as a sovereign state, "the only way to keep the nations of the empire together." Howe would have exhorted young Canadians to turn their eyes inward upon their own country to seek to develop a strong national spirit out of which should grow the desire to "raise this country up to a point of distinction in agriculture, commerce and the arts, in literature and science, in knowledge and virtue which shall win for her the admiration and esteem of other lands." Might he not have spoken,

as he spoke to the young men of Ottawa a year before his death:

"Canada cannot afford to have one drone in the intellectual hive. There never was a country with so many natural resources flung broadcast before so limited a population. Forests of boundless extent-a virgin soil to be measured by millions of square miles- the richest fisheries in the world- mines the value of which no man can estimate- and water power running to waste everywhere, but in a few favored spots where the vagrant streams have been harnessed to machinery and turned to profitable account. The inland provinces are enlivened by great lakes and rivers and the maritime are surrounded by the sea, where the carrying trade of the world invites to enterprise and adventure, and where as the argosies multiply in numbers and in value, a hardy population are nurtured--

That the most may be made of these great natural resources British America requires the active intellects of her children, aided by the highest mental culture. The idler and the vagrant are simply traitors to the country of their birth."

"Let all the ends you aim at by your country's  
Your God's and Truth's." (130)

or exhorted Young Nova Scotians, in the dawn of his public career,

" If our position presents difficulties let us study to overcome them and if we can only surpass others by a higher measure of patriotism, sagacity, and endurance than they possess, let us never cease to hope and labor until that standard is attained.

But it may be said, how can we earn distinction in literature, science and art, when we are far removed from those great marts where excellence in these things meets the highest rewards; and where the materials out of which they are created are almost exclusively treasured? I admit there is much reason in the objection; and that in these as in those things to which I have already referred. We labor under difficulties and have many obstacles to surmount, but I do not think that in all cases these are insuperable, or that they may not be overcome by the resources of genius, aided by patriotic self-devotion and an ardent pursuit of knowledge." (131)

In his own day his farseeing nationalism and his anxiety for the security of the empire had led to his scheme for Imperial unity which seemed to him the only logical result of the position of the colonies. While he was thinking about the necessity for completing his work, that of making the Nova Scotian nation, political deadlock in Canada had created an intolerable situation out of which wary politicians were seeking a way. Their opportunity came when

delegates from the maritime provinces met to discuss the question of a maritime union. The Canadians swept down on the conference with plans for a wider union which met the approval of the maritime delegates and the conference moved to Quebec to frame a constitution for a future nation in two short weeks.

When the Nova Scotians delegates returned from Quebec in October 1864 and the confederation proposals were made public, Howe refrained from any comment on the scheme until early in January 1866, when there appeared in the Morning Chronicle, Annand's newspaper, the first of a series of twelve articles on the Bothereation Scheme, in which its fallacies were pointed out. This was the first evidence that Howe would oppose confederation, and was a blow to the advocates of the Scheme in the Province and in Canada, who were desirous of seeing it put into immediate effect. They were the overture to battle which was to last until Howe finally gave in and accepted a seat in the Dominion council in January 1869.

By his enemies at the time and by historians since Howe has been accused of displaying a contradictory attitude; that is, it was said that he had always been in favor of confederation and that he repudiated all his past opinions on account of personal pique. By those who take this view it is asserted that Howe had become an egoist and that he could not bring himself to support a scheme of which he was not the leading exponent, in other words that the real reason for his opposition was expressed in those unguarded words to a friend, "I will not play second fiddle to that damned Tupper." (132) More lenient historians while admitting that Howe had a good case in opposing Nova Scotia's entry into confederation still express the opinion that it was unfortunate that he was not present at the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences for "had he been

"there he would probably have thrown himself heart and soul into the Confederation project." (133)

It is undoubtedly true and not to be wondered at, that Howe had grown more egotistical as the years went by. There must have been too a sort of unholy joy in his heart, that he could show "the little doctor", who had defeated him on two occasions in the provincial elections, that he could still influence his native province as no other, when he swept the whole country with him in a united outcry against Tupper's policy. Nevertheless a thoughtful student of his whole political career considering his strong local patriotism and his hope for an honorable place for Nova Scotia in a great empire federation, considering too the emphasis he laid upon consulting the wishes of the people, the whole basis of Responsible government, will come to the conclusion that Howe could never have been in favor of confederation as proposed by the Quebec conference.

With this conclusion reached an honest examination of Howe's utterances on confederation before the publishing of the "Botheration scheme" will lead to the conviction that he never contemplated anything more than a mere social union of the provinces based on amity and free trade and that therefore Tupper and his supporters were wrong when they accused him of inconsistency. This quotation from Tupper's "Recollections" indicates the charge:

" A large number of my own supporters---opposed the union movement and the Honorable Joseph Howe, then out of public life was tempted to accept the leadership and to repudiate completely the views he had formerly expressed." (134)

When Howe and Annand were in London trying to prevent the passing of the British North American Act, Howe published a pamphlet showing



that confederation would be detrimental to the interests of the empire. Tupper published what one historian is pleased to call a "smashing" reply. The following quotation is taken from the introduction:

"Mr. Howe has vested his arguments upon his own unsupported statements. In the observation which I have to make upon these statements, I shall take the liberty of quoting among other authorities, one which the gentleman ought to respect for it is his own. I shall produce from Mr. Howe's previous public speeches and writings, the most elaborate refutation of all the reasonings by which he now endeavors to obstruct the union of the North British colonies." (135)

Superficially this was a simple thing to do. It is unfortunate that in justice to Howe, more historians have not taken the trouble to challenge this work of Tupper's and to discover Howe's real attitude to confederation before 1864. An attempt to do so will be found below.

The first suggestion of federation to be found in Howe's speeches is found in his letter to H. R. Chapman, in which he deprecates the tendency to violence on the part of the popular party in Lower Canada in demanding reform. After urging more moderate measures and assuring his correspondent of the certainty of securing reform he continues,

"The time will come when the question of independence or a federative union with the adjoining colonies must be discussed as a natural consequence of our position." (136)

This letter was written in 1835 before Howe's entrance into public life when the discussion on reform leading to responsible government was filling his newspaper. It is evident that this reference to federation is merely transitory and is expressed before he had an opportunity to consider the prospect in any way. It is interesting to note that he counsels that whatever step is proposed it must be discussed quietly, not in the heat of controversy when decisions

might be arrived at, which in saner moments would never be formed. "We shall endeavor to entertain it (the question of independence or federation) as one that sooner or later must be thoroughly canvassed and understood." (137)

Three years later, expressing his opinion on the Canadian Rebellion and speaking of confederation as a possible solution for the future of the colonies he said, "the principles" should be "narrowly" looked to, there would be "benefits"- "regulation of trade"- "a court of appeal for the colonies" "but Nova Scotia is one of the smallest and might suffer". "An office in the backwoods of Canada" would be "more difficult of access than one in London." (138)

This reference to confederation is transitory also and it is obvious he has not been thinking upon the subject. After the responsible government question was settled and Howe wrote Lord John Russell on the problem of "what next" it was imperial federation his mind turned to.(139) A year later writing to the President of the British American league, on the Rebellion Losses Bill riots he refers to confederation in a more positive way as being feasible as a "combination of interests"

"A confederation of the colonies may be the desire of your convention. If so the object is legitimate, but it must be pursued by legitimate means. The lower provinces---are not opposed to union or a confederation, but we must know with whom we are dealing and have securities for the preservation of the blessings we enjoy."

"We desire free trade among all the provinces, under our national flag, with one coin, one measure, one tariff, one post office. We feel that the courts, the press, the educational institutions of North American would be elevated by union; that intercommunication by railroads, telegraphs and steamboats would be promoted; and that if such a combination of interests were achieved wisely and with proper guards, the foundation of a great nation, in friendly connection with the mother country, would be laid on an indestructable basis." (140)

This is a plain expression of opinion on the only sort of union Howe contemplated- a union of interests, not the submerging of the

national character he had been at such pains to mould. With this in mind and with the knowledge that Howe was pondering deeply his scheme for the organization of the empire the next expressions on a union of the colonies must be examined. These are to be found in his speeches on the imperial railway loan after his triumphant four months in England. They are to be considered also with the fact that he was urging the acceptance of his railway policy and are not to be taken as unbiased expressions. In his great speech in Mason's Hall in Halifax in April 1851 he says:

" To bind these great provinces together by iron roads, to give them the homogeneous character and fixedness of purpose and elevation of sentiment which they so much require is our first duty." With such great objects in view, with the means before us to open up one thousand miles of this noble territory--surely all petty jealousies and personal rivalries should stand rebuked; and all minor questions of mere local interest should give way." (141)

From a speech delivered at St. John the following month under the same conditions, the following extract is taken:

" With the consent of the sovereign and the acquiescence of the Imperial authorities, by the united action and good sense of all these provinces you should seek by union to elevate them all to a higher status than any of them separately can ever occupy." I believe that railways will be of very great use to this country; but I believe also that it is necessary, nay almost indispensable to produce a social and political organization of the people to raise these provinces to higher status than they can ever singly attain." (142)

This was as strong an expression of feeling on the subject of union as Tupper could wish to have, and yet it could not be said that this was fair proof that Howe would favor confederation, for the tenor of that whole speech indicates that he was urging in a popular manner the acceptance of his policy and had no purpose but to convince New Brunswickers of its attractiveness.

The following extract from one of his speeches at Quebec on the same occasion illustrates his concentration on this one absorbing theme and that as yet he had not seriously considered confederation:

"I come not to propound any political scheme, nor have I formed in my own mind any theory for a more extended organization of these provinces; but this I may say to those who have, that we must make the railroads first before any combination is possible." To the advocates of a legislative union I say your scheme is impracticable without the railroads, to the Federalist my advice is, make the railroads first and test your theory afterwards." (143)

From a speech in the local legislature in the session of 1853, on free trade, the following extract would indicate still further that Howe had not arrived at any conclusion regarding confederation:

"Sir, I admit that the time may arrive when the union of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia with the other provinces may be necessary to compel the United States to grant us more extended freedom of trade. My mind has not yet come up even to that point." (144)

In February of the following year, J. W. Johnston leader of the opposition in the Nova Scotia legislature brought forward a motion to promote a union of the North American provinces. Speaking on the motion, Howe delivered his famous address on the organization of the empire, which is with the exception of one (145) his only serious discussion of the question of confederation before 1865. It is obvious that if a fair conclusion of Howe's views on this question is to be arrived at, it must be by examination of this speech. In commenting on the resolution, he said:

"It opens up for discussion, the broadest field, the noblest subject ever presented to the consideration of this legislature. I am not sure sir even out of this discussion may not arise a spirit of union and elevation of thought which may lead North America to cast aside colonial habiliments, to put on national aspects, to assert national claims and to prepare to assume national obligations." (146)

After showing that the North American colonies were in every way fitted to form a nation of themselves, he discussed how it might be done, one way was "by forming North America into a kingdom of confederation by itself;"

"The advantages of the first would be a strong executive, a united parliament the crown hereditary, distinctions permanent."

but,

" Our people would soon feel the loss of their local legislatures-- By a federal union we should have something like the neighboring republic; and if I saw nothing better I should say at once, let us keep our local legislatures and have a president and central congress for all the higher and external relations of the united provinces. But if we so far change our organization we must substitute American practise for British."

The above quotation is worthy of examination, for it illustrates more pertinently perhaps than almost any other the utter impossibility of Howe's acceptance of the scheme of confederation drawn up at Charlottetown and Quebec. His idea as a result of his local patriotism was state autonomy which should be more lastingly secured by the empire federation. Thus if he would have favored a federation of the North American provinces, it should have been a scheme similar to that of the United States which ensured no sacrifice of local dignity and interest.

Further discussion of the question brought out the difficulties in the way of federation,

"The French Canadians may not favor a union," "The seat of government would be a knotty question", the large debts that Canada has contracted another."

then,

"might we not have some diversities of interest"--"what we have to fear is that the smaller provinces may be swamped and their interests sacrificed for the benefit of their more populous neighbor. Past experience leads me to guard against such a contingency, for I know that in negotiations which deeply stirred the hopes of our people, Canada has been satisfied to sacrifice national and provincial interests for not very weighty or very worthy considerations." (147)

It is obvious from the above quotations that confederation was not a scheme upon which Howe has been concentrating. He saw a greater destiny for Nova Scotia:

"The Union of the colonies is the object of the resolution, but in my judgment such a proposition covers but a limited portion of the ground which the agitation of that subject opens up." (148) "Talk of annexation sir, what we want is annexation with our mother country. Talk of a union of the provinces which unaccompanied with other provisions would lead to separation! What we require is union within the empire, an investiture with the rights and dignity of British citizenship." (149)

Nothing could be plainer than this. Confederation might "lead to separation", in any case "it covers but a limited portion of the ground". His plan of empire federation presented "a solution of all our difficulties". Nova Scotia would not be swamped but would form an honorable member in a great league of nations wherein she would not lose her individuality and would have sufficient scope for unlimited development.

With the knowledge that ultimately, the colonies must reach the status of full nationhood Howe was afraid that confederation accomplished without the larger organization of the empire, would lead them to seek such development outside the empire. Being content with confederation would only last a comparatively short space of time and the question of status would inevitably come up and Howe feared full nationhood should be gained independently of the mother country. Thus he writes in his reply to Hincks in 1855:

" I have watched too carefully the development of the colonial mind and studied too long the imperfect organization of this empire to believe that the adjustment of this question is dependent on the temporary prosperity or tranquility of any particular province or cluster of provinces." (150)

"In 1861" Tupper writes in his "Recollections" Howe proposed a resolution carried unanimously declaring that many advantages would be secured by such a union" (of the British North American colonies) and authorizing the appointment of delegates to promote that object." (151) This would appear incriminating but an examination of his resolution as proposed by Howe reveals nothing further than a desire to promote discussion on the question. The motion was as follows:

" That his Excellency the Lieut-Governor be requested to communicate with the colonial secretary and His Excellency the Governor-General and the Lieut-governors of the other British North American provinces in order to ascertain the policy of her majesty's government and the opinion of the other colonies with a view to enlightened consideration of a question involving the highest interests and upon which the public mind in all the provinces ought to be set at rest."

"While many advantages may be secured by such a union, either of all these provinces or of a portion of them, many and serious obstacles are presented which can only be overcome by mutual consultation of the leading men of the colonies and by free communication with the Imperial government." (152)

The ensuing year, in a speech to the Canadians at Niagara he made the following reference to union: "I look hopefully forward to the time when this great province of Canada will be connected with the provinces of England and her colonies, discussing the Goldwin Smith opinion that the colonies were like so many mill stones about the neck of the mother country and should be "cut off" and allowed to go their own ways. That the connection should not be such a one as to endanger Nova Scotia's identity but should be one of intercourse may be seen from the following passage taken from the same speech:

"The progress that was made by Nova Scotia was most satisfactory and I am happy to tell this audience that while up here you are extending the cultivation of your noble territory into the far west, down on the seaboard they are endeavoring to deck their province for that happy day when by their iron road they shall have connection with Canada and hitch unto this noble province above." (154)

The latest reported speech of Howe's before the Charlottetown conference was in the summer of 1864, when some of the public men of the Canadas who had come to Halifax for the purpose of discussing the question of Union in a friendly way were being entertained at a public dinner. In a short address at the close of the evening Howe expressed those opinions on union which Tupper and those who follow him in regard to opinions on Howe's position, on the opening of confederation discussion, quote as proving conclusively that Howe was in favor of the scheme. Certainly the expression was rather positive:

"And why should union not be brought about? I have always been in favor of uniting any two, three, four or the whole five provinces--I am pleased to think that the day is rapidly approaching when the provinces will be united with one flag above our heads, one thought in all our bosoms, one sovereign and one constitution." (155)



Considering the whole speech and contrasting it with Howe's serious utterances on the question, it may be seen that it bears all the evidence of being nothing more than a hasty after dinner speech, and as Howe himself said when commenting on his advocacy of confederation in this speech, "the sentiments expressed on a convivial occasion ought not to be taken as the expression of mature and well considered opinion." (156)

Three days later Howe, who at that time was fishery commissioner for the Imperial government, received the following curt note from Dr. Tupper:

" I have the pleasure of informing you that your name has been submitted by the Executive council to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor as one of the delegates to the conference on the union of the maritime provinces and I am instructed by His Excellency to inquire if you will accept that office and attend the Meetings of the delegates at Charlottetown on September 1st." (159.)

Howe replied that his duties prevented his attendance but that he

"would be very happy to co-operate in carrying out any measure upon which the conference shall agree." (158)

When he read of the results of that famous Charlottetown conference he wrote to a friend from St. John's Newfoundland on September 20th;

"I have read the proceedings of the delegates and I am glad to be out of the mess." (159)

This was his only word of comment on the proceedings of the delegates until he broke silence in the pages of the Morning Chronicle with his denunciation of the "Botheration Scheme". From a perusal of these twelve articles, a letter to Lord John Russell written in January 1865, a letter written to Isaac Buchanan after a tour of Nova Scotia, in discussion of the question from his pamphlet on Confederation, published in London during his attempt to prevent the passing of the Act, and his correspondence with W. J. Stairs, the vice-president of the league of the Maritime provinces, during this period, his objections



to the schemes are to be found.

Howe's interval of silence between the publication of the doings at Quebec and the publishing of the Botheration articles, to the keen observer is indicative of much. It had never been his way to hesitate before a battle, whether in defence of his own policy or in an attack upon that of an opponent. Thus his silence on this occasion is worthy of examination. It is usual to attribute it to a struggle between his egoism and his better nature. The latter called upon him to embrace the project which he had always enthusiastically advocated, the former made him say "I will not play second fiddle to that damn Tupper", is the argument. The following quotation from Grant's "Tribune of Canada" illustrates it:

" He paused for a little. Two courses were open, one noble and one less noble-- stern principles called on him to take one course, a hundred pleasant voices called on the other side. Was he to be the Lieutenant of Dr. Tupper--- who had politically annihilated him for the time--- or was he to put himself at the head of old friends and old foes and regain his proper place and steer the ship in his own fashion? And Howe was an egoist--now in his hour of trial his sin had found him out. The real reason for his opposition was given in his savage words to a friend. " I will not-- etc." (160)

Such an expression of opinion shows an astonishing lack of penetration on the part of a professed student of Howe. It is decidedly likely that Howe achieved a certain amount of grim pleasure out of the opposition to "Tupper's scheme" in his own province, in the organizing of which he played so large a part, but to attribute his course solely to personal spite, even if one had only the examples of his previous high-minded services for the development of his country, shows regrettable haste in judgment. When one has earnestly studied Howe's national policy it is emphatically apparent that his opposition to the Quebec scheme was logical and sincere.

Howe's own explanation of his silence was that he was weary of the strain of public life and wished to retire to give himself

up to literary work, and that he studied the scheme carefully hoping to find that Nova Scotia's interests were secure.(161)

When he found so much opposition manifested among the merchants of Halifax, when he found that the Maritime Provinces were not to secure what he considered a fair amount of influence in the new confederacy and that the delegates meant to push the resolutions through the existing legislatures without an appeal to the country, he could no longer stand aside and see the scheme of Tupper's violate his cherished ideals. Until the passage of the North America act by the British Government, he fought the measure with all his fiery eloquence of tongue and pen. The following quotation from his letters "to the People of Nova Scotia" explaining his course, is Howe's answer to the accusation that his opposition was merely a game of personal spite.

"Now the question raised by one or two mean-spirited men in Nova Scotia is--was Howe in earnest? Who can doubt it? On embarking on this enterprise I had to confront nearly all the leading men of British America and to forfeit my chance of repose and colonial employment. In throwing myself into opposition to Her Majesty's ministers, I had to abandon all hope of Imperial patronage or promotion. I did both- Nova Scotia's honor and interests were at stake and all other considerations were thrown to the winds." (162)

If there is no doubting the sincerity of Howe's attitude to the confederation scheme, neither can it be denied that his objections to it were justifiable. His strongest feelings were aroused by the fact that it was to be forced through without giving the people a chance to pronounce upon it. This was he considered a violation of the principles of responsible government. There is ample evidence that the resolutions were to be stampeded through the local legislatures. Sir John A. MacDonald wrote Tupper in November, following the conferences:

"We have settled that our legislature shall meet on January 19th, and intend to press the Federation resolutions through without delay.---It is of the utmost importance that between now and the time of the meeting of parliament nothing should be done to strengthen the hands of the opposition---Have you formed any plan as to the mode in which you will submit the subject to your Parliament?" (163)

and Tupper replied in December:

"I fear that the government of New Brunswick has decided not to submit the question to the people (sic Legislature) until after an appeal to the people. They ought to do the necessary work of the session very soon and dissolve at once and thus not much time would be lost, but the precedent is a bad one." (164)

Howe's opinion on that policy is illustrated by the following quotations:

"It is said that the present House of Assembly elected for no such purpose --uninstructed by their constituents have the right to deal with this question. We deny the statement. No parliament elected by a free people to maintain their constitution and to legislate within its limits, have the right to destroy what they were expressly chosen to guard--for nearly two hundred years no important change in the constitution of the mother country--has been adopted by the parliament of England without having been debated for several sessions and referred to the people at the hustings once at least and some of them have been so referred two or three times." (165)

"If an honest practicable scheme of union can be arranged let it be printed perfect in all its parts (which the Quebec scheme is not) and when it has been aired in all the provinces let the people reject or accept it--I resist the Quebec scheme because I do not like it, and the plan for sweeping away the institutions of my country without the consent of the people, because it is an atrocious violation of legal rights never abused or abandoned." (166)

To Howe Union was a scheme to relieve the political difficulties of Canada.

"In accepting this scheme of confederation growing out of the political necessities of a single province and before it had been ratified by the legislatures or people of any of the others, they committed a grave indiscretion." (167)

He is justified in taking this view. A glance at the political history of Canada during the years preceeding Confederation, is all that is

necessary to convince one of the aptness of Goldwin Smith's remark, that "Deadlock is the parent of confederation."

Nova Scotians were to lose their hard won national identity by union with a country which had always been the seat of disturbances and to which they had always felt superior. They had "counselled and laughed at the Canadians until the spirit of violence was laid and a more loyal disposition gained the ascendancy" (168) This is obviously the sore point.

"The union of the Maritime Provinces might have been acceptable to most of the persons who ever desired any kind of union---These provinces are essentially maritime---The populations are really homogenous---There would be sense in such a confederacy as this and we could have a legislative union and responsible government without any sacrifice of interests or dignity on the part of either province." (169)

"But it is said the Canadians have outgrown their constitution. Well if they have what of it? If they are in trouble let them get out of it; but don't let them involve us in distractions with which we have nothing to do. Are not Canadians always in trouble?" (170)

The Maritime Provinces would be swamped by the principle of representation by population.

"In our case we have a confederacy in name but in reality the centre of power and influence will always be in Canada---Had the Maritime Provinces been permitted to organize themselves first and then to unite with Canada they might have acted together and controlled their interests; but disunited, it is plain that they must become a prey to the spoiler; and having but forty-seven representatives all told, it is apparent that the government of the confederacy will always rest upon the overwhelming majority of 147."

"We are asked to accept a proportional representation in the Upper Chamber and can always be outvoted by Canadians even when, which is very unlikely, we all act together." (171)

This was a very vital fear with Howe, and although time has proved that the Maritime provinces, especially Nova Scotia, have been very well able to look after their own interests, he had justification for believing that they would be overwhelmed by Canadians.

Following from this, was another objection, to the scheme indicated above. This was the amount of power given the central

legislature, which was in effect, Canada. (172) During his discussion on this point and the previous one Howe recommended the example of the American confederacy with regard to the decentralization of power and equalization of representatives. This may be one case where his local patriotism biased his political judgment for the disproportionate strength of the state legislatures has frequently been indicated as a source of weakness in the American Confederacy.

Then union would be detrimental to the commercial prosperity of the province. Nova Scotia was prosperous, what would be gained by union?

" She has always been blessed with a good crop, an abundant fishery a healthy season; her mining interests are extending; her shipyards have been busy all the year; her railroads are beginning to pay and her treasury is overflowing, affording ample means to push forward public improvements just as fast as it is wise to push them; we have not a question to create angry discussion with the mother country, with our neighbors in the United States or surrounding colonies. We have entirely re-organized our militia--are we to peril all these blessings and mix ourselves up with distractions the end of which no living man can foresee?

Again-- when we admit Canadian goods duty free while we impose duties on British manufactures of the same description, we are taxing our British brethren who have always projected us for the advantage of the Canadians to whom we are under no sort of obligation, and we are compelled to raise the duties on all sorts of things which the Canadians do not manufacture--to the injury of our natural trade with the rest of the world." (173)

Howe was a true prophet in regard to this point for confederation was followed in Nova Scotia by a long period of business depression, of such duration that the premier of Nova Scotia, Honorable W.S. Fielding, in 1886, moved a series of resolutions that the Nova Scotian government should approach the Imperial authorities for permission to withdraw from the union, on the grounds that "before confederation the province of Nova Scotia was in a most healthy financial condition" now "the commercial as well as the financial condition of Nova Scotia

is in an unsatisfactory and depressed condition" (174) These resolutions are sufficient justification for Howe's criticism.

Considering the heights to which Howe had always raised my project, which would have far reaching effect upon the future of the country, and the emphasis he had laid upon the necessity for discussion and care in the working out of any scheme to further the national welfare, it is small wonder that the haste with which the Quebec resolutions, which were to form the basis for a great new nation, were drawn up, should provoke his anger.

"After three weeks of light labor and exhaustive festivities " what is called "the Quebec Scheme" of confederation was produced" is his sarcastic comment in his London pamphlet on the question. The following extract from the Botheration Articles further indicates this feeling:

"The British constitution which we enjoy now has been matured by the wisdom of centuries. It was secured to us by men who devoted twenty years of life to its consolidation. The American constitution was framed by a body of the ablest men that ever appeared upon this continent, who devoted to its every detail months of anxious consideration. The Quebec constitution was framed in a fortnight amidst exhausting festivities to which not a few of the delegates, if the report speaks true, succumbed before all was over." (175)

In July 1866 Howe with William Annand and Hugh McDonald left for England as delegates of the anti-union federates in Nova Scotia to oppose the passing of Imperial legislation giving effect to the proposed union of the North American colonies. Later in the year the confederation delegates arrived. For nine months of almost unceasing labor Howe and his colleagues did everything in their power to stir up English sympathy in favor of the anti-union federates and to prevent the passing of the Bill, but "the prevailing idea" in England was "to set them (the colonies) adrift" and the B.N.A. Act 1867 was finally passed on March 29th, 1867.

During the process of the negotiations Howe published a pamphlet on Confederation in which his objections to the scheme were further developed. The latter part of the same month he published his paper on "the Organization of the Empire". This bringing up of an "impractical scheme" in the midst of the confederation agitation, was a subterfuge to shelve that scheme was the cry of Howe's critics. While he did write Stairs "if no other good comes of it, a diversion will be made that may be fatal to confederation" it was published with the hope of convincing Imperial statesmen that organization of the empire was the vital need of the moment, not schemes which would result in its dismemberment. Thus develops Howe's greatest objection to Confederation. He knew that progress demanded that the colonies must some day reach national status. If the provinces of British North America should turn to Ottawa instead of London as the seat of general government, the result would be a gradual turning away from England and as the necessity for national status came upon them-separation. The attitude of Imperial statesmen at the time did much to strengthen this conviction. He wrote Stairs on the eve of the passing of the Act: "The general, indeed, the almost universal feeling, appeared to be that uniting the provinces was an easy mode of getting rid of them and the wish expressed by the Times that independence would speedily follow Confederation" was scarcely disguised by anybody". (176)

To prevent the dissemination of these doctrines Howe had published his speech of 1854 and circulated it in England because of its insistence on the advantages and the necessity of empire consolidation. The pamphlet of 1866 with more care but less enthusiasm urged the same policy. The following quotations from his correspondence at the time indicate the sincerity of his aim in publishing it.



Writing Stairs in October concerning the paper he says:

"Whether or not the views propounded meet with general favor it will excite discussion on a subject of the highest national importance, and will lose no credit by this second attempt to instruct the governing classes of this country, I wish I was rich enough to go into Parliament and I should have little doubt that in five years we should have a scheme of government sufficiently expansive to include the whole empire." (177)

and in a letter to Lord Normanby in the same month:

"Just now my plan of the organization of the empire may seem visionary and impracticable because there is nobody who will grapple with the question of how it is to be kept together, But I can afford to wait. All I hope now is to set people thinking in the right direction. We should all go for the Empire-- as opposed to this policy of dismemberment  
~~Having thought for ten years upon it~~ I know I am right-- I believe the honor of the crown and the diffusion of British civilization can only be secured for any long period by preserving the unity of the empire. When we begin to break it up where are we to stop? and what will the fragments be? Republics and nothing else"

"Wherever the colonies are formed into new nations the old ties will be severed---To me it is apparent that all the fragments broken off the empire must be republics." (178)

This is conclusive proof if there were no other of the consistency of Howe's opposition towards the confederation project. This belief that it would lead to separation is expressed in several of his early speeches in discussing the subject. (179)

In April 1867 Howe sailed for home disillusioned, "Poor Howe" Garvie wrote home to Stairs on the day of the passing of the bill, "the disaster tried his spirit, hard, very hard." (180) In him was a determination to "punish the rascals who have sold our country." (181) The summer was spent in a whirlwind election campaign, the outcome of which was that Howe and the anti-confederations swept the province. For the local legislature only two confederates were returned and in November Howe went grimly down to Ottawa with his seventeen anti-confederates to sit in the Canadian parliament and see how "this scheme was going to work".

The next phase of the battle was the repeal movement. It is



doubtful if Howe ever had any faith in a successful agitation. The Archbishop of Halifax wrote Sir John A. Macdonald in October 1867, "Howe is heartily sick of the glorious uncertainties of politics and he assured me in consequence he would not make a bear garden of Nova Scotia--His plan seems to be to go as a delegate to London to vindicate himself and show that all he said about the anti-feeling in Nova Scotia was true" (182) This seems to be a fair explanation of Howe's part in the repeal controversy. Certainly he was convinced of the indifference in England towards the whole question (183). The delegation consisting of Howe, Annand, J. C. Troop and H. W. Smith sailed for England in February 1868 to secure a repeal of the measures which bound Nova Scotia to the confederacy. Dr. Tupper was sent to uphold the cause of union. Tupper visited Howe and had several long conversations with him and as he wrote Macdonald he was satisfied that Howe was "fully convinced that the interests of his country, his party and himself all require him to take hold with us--but both he and I agree that we must handle the subject with great delicacy--(184) He expressed again his fears that if he took the course I suggested he would be abandoned by the people and defeated, but I have pledged him, in case he takes the patriotic course, my most loyal support and I think satisfied his scruples on that point." (185)

On the 16th of June, John Bright moved in the Imperial parliament for a commission to inquire into the cause of discontent in Nova Scotia. The motion was defeated by an overwhelming majority. The delegation sailed for home with mingled feelings. There is little doubt that Howe was determined at least from this point to give up the agitation in spite of his letter to Robert Robinson in which he suggests holding out for another six months, with the hope that they might secure a favorable vote in the new Imperial parliament.(186)

"If all fail there are but six months of life lost and we can either submit or fight when we are that much older."

In July of that same year Sir John A. Macdonald visited Halifax, as the head of a small unofficial delegation of Canadian public men, to confer with the leaders of the anti-confederates in Nova Scotia, with the purpose of alleviating some of their grievances, (187) but nothing came of the conference. During the summer to the extreme repealers it became evident that Howe was keeping very quiet and that if he broke silence at all it was to speak in tones which seemed to indicate that he was giving up the battle. Later in the year he carried on an extensive correspondence with Sir John A. Macdonald which finally led to what was called the Better Terms Agreement by which Nova Scotia received comparative financial justice in the confederation. In January 1869 Howe accepted the Presidency of the Dominion Council. This "going over to the Canadians" served to let loose upon him the anger of the anti-confederationists whose cry was that Howe had sold his country for a seat in the Council. Some of his hitherto staunchest friends and supporters, among them William Annand, were alienated by this step. "The general answer I give to these slanders" wrote Howe in those pathetic letters to the people of Nova Scotia in which he explains his course and motives throughout the whole controversy, "is simply my life-- a life passed in your midst in the open face of day, under the eye and observation, not only of the public men of our country, but of the great body of the people." (188)

The following quotations from his speeches and letters to his countrymen in explanation of his policy give his own explanation of the step:

"When I returned from England in July it was with the full conviction that further appeals would be hopeless and a settled determination never to go on any such errand again" (189)

"To sit in the lobbies of the Lords and Commons and to hear your countries dearest interests disposed of with reckless haste or supreme indifference is not a pleasant pastime. Having endured the humiliation twice I have made up my mind never to submit to the infliction again. (190)

When the plans of the repealers began to include everything from a war with Britain and Canada to annexation with the United States, Howe saw that the agitation would have to be stopped.

" I hope to live and die in Nova Scotia and must be careful of her reputation and my own. In all the struggles of the past for the elevation and advancement of our country it has been my boast that no life has been lost or a pane of glass shattered. I owe it to the living that this policy shall not be abandoned. I owe it to the dead who in honor and sobriety fought by my side, that in the autumnal season of my life I shall not go mad and turn our country into shambles." (191)

"Had I refused Sir John A. Macdonald's offer of better terms for Nova Scotia Her Majesty's government would have been informed that Nova Scotia refused negotiation and a very large sum of money now within our reach would have been lost--I would not assume that responsibility.

"All that McLean and I could fairly ask on the basis we had laid down, in perfect justice to the other provinces, was yielded, and Sir John A. Macdonald said 'we have now done justice so far as we could in monetary matters and are prepared to deal fairly with Nova Scotia in all other branches of the public service; but I will want some guarantee to give parliament that when they have voted the money the arrangement will not be repudiated by Nova Scotia' " (192)

Thus Howe went into the Dominion council as a sort of hostage for Nova Scotia's good behaviour. There he remained until his appointment to the lieutenant-governship of the province three years later. Old and broken down, his great powers spent, the man who had for nearly forty years given of his best, in service of his countrymen, whose oratory and passionate pen had influenced the life of nearly half a continent and had commanded admiration and respect in England, was tolerated and humored by "Canadians" because he was security for peace in Nova Scotia.

"Poor old Howe" wrote Sir John A. Macdonald to Sir John Rose "has been making a fool of himself". (193) The occasion was his publication of a speech delivered before the Y.M.C.A. at Ottawa, in which he had spoken with bitterness of England's evident desire to get rid of the colonies.

The speech created some indignation in Canadian political circles. (194) "It very nearly ended in his sending in his resignation" continued Sir John in his letter to Rose, "but although he has outlived his usefulness he has not lost his powers of mischief. From fear of his doing damage in Nova Scotia, which is yet a slumbering

"volcano, I felt it right to accept his disclaimers and excuses, although much against my will." "His remarks are evidence of his senility and nothing more". (195)

It is apparent that there had been a gradual declining of Howe's powers since the years of his battle for responsible government and the advocacy of his railway policy. While one is impressed by the indomitable energy displayed in the process of his opposition to Confederation, comparison of his speeches and letters of the two periods reveals that much enthusiasm and power had gone out of him. Ill health contributed to the weakening of his address on the public platform. It is said that those who heard him speak in the latter days could scarcely credit the tales of his prowess in the height of his career. This declination of power was not so noticeable until after 1867 when the passing of the confederation resolutions shattered his faith in England. His influence in Nova Scotia was still paramount then, and the enthusiasm with which his speech in favor of Reciprocity was received at the Detroit convention in July 1865, shows that his public addresses still retained their eloquent persuasive power. One has a vision of that shattering blow which his faith and ideals received by the passing of the B.N.A. Act. So that he sits for the four years in the Canadian parliament, ill and broken. The results of the repeal movement which he had led hopelessly and the bitter alienation of his friends on his acceptance of the Canadian terms were successive shocks which hard to bear weakened him still further. Yet he stuck it out to the end, grimly, a great pathetic figure concerning whom Sir John Macdonald misquoted to Lord Dufferin "still the veteran lags superfluous on the stage." (195)

It has been shown above that such an expression of opinion that Howe would undoubtedly have "thrown himself heart and soul into the Confederation project" if he had been present at "either the Charlottetown conference or the Quebec conference" is unjustified by a serious examination of his national policy. It is interesting to

consider however, what would have been the result of Howe's presence at Charlottetown that momentous August. One is inclined to wonder if the conference would ever have reached Quebec. Certainly it should not have proceeded there with such speed. Once there it is difficult to imagine Howe with his reverence for the constitution of his country, in which he saw the lives and work of our forefathers, as one of that unsentimental group which with the exception perhaps of D'Arch McGee, emphasized the accepting of the scheme as an excellent method of getting out of existing difficulties. If he had been there one feels convinced that the resolutions would not have been drawn up as they were and the whole framing of the constitution for a magnificent new country should not have been completed in two short weeks "amid exhausting festivities". It is certain that Howe would have insisted on the securing of local rights and the largest possible degree of state autonomy, in the course of the discussion, and in view of the early vague ideas on the nature of the union, it is quite possible, that his influence would have had the effect of establishing such a system of confederation as that of the United States. The resolutions passed as they were, could never have been pushed through the Nova Scotian legislature for Howe would have insisted that they be presented to the people. Had they been so presented it is certain that Nova Scotians at least would have pronounced unfavorably upon them and they would have been rejected. Under her influence New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island might have also rejected them and the result have been the old objective, a union of the Maritime provinces. In any case Howe's opposition to Confederation was not entirely in vain. He won better financial terms for Nova Scotia, and caused the Canadians to consider the claims of that province with much more respect than they might otherwise have been inclined to do.

One month before his death Howe slipped into a little backwater of peace. He was appointed to the lieutenant-governship of his province in May 1873, a reward of a life long devotion to his country's service, which came almost too late, for he died three weeks later, at Government house, "the greatest Nova Scotian".

Nova Scotians might well regret the great insistent voice which had called them to national consciousness, which had ever pointed out to them the ways of highest development, the untiring and inspiring leader who had urged them up the steep path of national distinction, who had himself played such a large part in its accomplishment.

In one of Howe's greatest speeches occurs the following passage, concerning the governing of a country:

"What is a government for, if it is not to take the lead in noble enterprises, to stimulate industry to elevate and guide the public mind? You set eight or nine men on red cushions or gilded chairs with nothing to do but pocket their salaries and call that a government. To such a pageant I have no desire to belong. Those who aspire to govern others should neither be afraid of the saddle by day nor of the thump by night. In advance of the general intelligence they should lead the way to improvement and prosperity." (196)

It is not often that a public man lives the ideals he expresses on the public platform. The greatness of Howe's influence upon the life of his country is in a large measure due to the fact that Nova Scotians knew that he urged nothing upon them that he would not try to do or had not done himself. Such a conviction was the impetus for the development of the public mind of which Howe was so justly proud.

The above quotation is only one of many illustrating Howe's broadmindedness and high purpose in serving his country. He was essentially honest in his public career. This very honesty made him impatient of narrowness and restraint, made him despise the subtle and winding paths of a diplomacy which justified irregular measures in the interests of expediency. This was the cause of his bitter denunciation of the methods of the confederation delegates those opportunities of which Sir John A. Macdonald was the greatest. Howe was not an opportunist, he could certainly not be called a diplomat, but he became a prophet at the impelling of his local patriotism and his loyalty to Great Britain. So great were these forces that they impelled his careful and exhaustive study of his country and its problems and insured his comprehensive grasp of them. The result of this insight was his prophetic statesmanship, for obviously a prophet is merely a deep seeing student of the present, and Howe's national policy was a process of seeing the problems which would beset the country, and of educating the public mind for a successful solution of them when they should have to be faced.



# NOTES

1. "The file of the Acadian contains some lively sketches of natural scenery, some passable poetry, and some juvenile attempts at editorial writing, jejune and commonplace enough. There are no attempts at political writing, and the volume discloses no evidence that, at this period, the editor had formed any clear or definite notions of the condition or requirements of his country."---Speeches and Letters Chisholm, 1, 3.
2. Speeches and Letters, Chisholm 11, 156.
3. Speeches and Letters, Chisholm, 1, 264
4. Commission of Governor Cornwallis 1749---Constitutional Documents of Canada. Houston P. 9.
5. Extract from a letter of the Lords of Trade and Plantations to Governor Lawrence, May 7th 1855. Constitutional Documents of Canada---Houston P. 17.
6. Speech in the session of 1830 Nova Scotian Assembly-- History of Nova Scotia--Duncan Campbell- P. 270.
7. A General Description of Nova Scotia- Published by Clement Belcher 1825.
8. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 146.
9. 1. 12
10. 1. 9
11. 1. 8
12. The Duties of Man- Mazzini. Everyman P. 52, 53, 54, 55.
13. Speeches and Letters - Chisholm- 1. 13.
14. Durham's Report (Metheun) "It is one of Durham's recommendations and predictions in his report, that the French Canadians should and would ultimately be amalgamated with the British colonists.  
  
"I entertain no doubts as to the national character which must be given to Lower Canada; it must be that of the British Empire; that of the majority of the population of British America; that of the great race which must in the lapse of no long period of time be predominant over the whole North American continent."  
  
"The language, the laws, the character of the North American continent are English; and every race but the English ( I apply this to all who speak the English language) appears there in a condition of inferiority. It is to elevate them from that inferiority that I desire to give the Canadians our English character." (14)
15. Speeches and Letters. Chisholm - 1. 137
16. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. Letters to Lord John Russell 1839
17. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1,9. Address to the Mechanics Institute 1834.
18. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm- 1, 263-264. Letters to Lord John Russell. 1839.



19. Speeches and Letters -Chisholm- 1, 264 Letters to Lord John Russell,  
1839
20. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm 11, 125. Second letter to Earl Grey 1851
21. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm 11, 169-170. Speech on railways and  
colonization 1851.
22. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm-11, 136. Speech at Southampton 1851.
24. History of Nova Scotia- Campbell . P. 265
25. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm- 1, 132. Debates on the twelve  
resolutions, Nova Scotian Assembly, 1837.
26. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm- 1, 129. Debates on -----1837.
27. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm- 1, 146. Speech on rescinding the  
resolutions- Nova Scotian Assembly, 1837.
28. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 84-85. Letter to H. S. Chapman  
1835
29. Joseph Howe- Longley- 92
30. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 85, 86, 87. Letter to H. S. Chapman  
1835
31. Speeches and Letters - Chisholm 1, 104.
32. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 127. Speech on the twelve resolu-  
tions- Nova Scotia Assembly, 1837.
33. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 127. Speech on the twelve resolu-  
tions- Nova Scotia Assembly. 1837.
34. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 137. Speech on elective councils.  
Nova Scotia Assembly, 1837.
35. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 142.
36. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 145.
37. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm, 1, 197. Speech on the Resolutions.  
Nova Scotia Assembly, 1839.
38. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 217.
39. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 231. Letters to Lord John Russell  
1831.
40. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 219. Lord John Russell's Speech  
1839.
41. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 223-224. Letters to Lord John  
Russell 1839.
42. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 243. Letters to Lord John Russell  
1839
43. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 244. Letters to Lord John Russell  
1839
44. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 246, Letters to Lord John Russell,  
1839
45. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 228.

46. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 331. Letter to Constituents, 1840.
47. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 367. Solicitor-General Johnston's Speech- Nova Scotia Assembly, 1841.
48. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1, 368. Alexander Stewart's Speech. N.S.A. 1841.
49. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1-417. Resolutions on Sectarian Colleges, Nova Scotia Assembly, 1843.
50. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 1-480. Addresses to Lord Falkland 1844
51. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 1,583. Speech to the Germans at Lunenburg, 1845.
52. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 1. 594.
53. Tribune of Nova Scotia- W. L. Grant, 89.
54. Problem of the Commonwealth- Curtis- 94
55. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 1-120. Speech on the twelve resolutions Nova Scotian Assembly 1837.
56. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 1-377. Speech on Free Schools, Nova Scotian Assembly, 1841.
57. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1-372 and 374.
58. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm- 1-427-8. Speech on Sectarian Colleges Nova Scotian Assembly, 1843.
59. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 1-421. Speech on Sectarian Colleges Nova Scotian Assembly 1843.
60. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm- 11-16, 18, 20. Speech on Education Nova Scotian Assembly. 1849.
61. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-76, 77. "There is no end to the facilities that a railroad---would afford and there can be no doubt that the immediate effect would be to draw Halifax and Windsor within fifteen miles of each other and attract to the one and to the other a vast amount of business in which neither now have any anticipation-- To us it is if not a vital question one of the most pressing and commanding importance." Railway Articles Nova Scotian. 1835.
62. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-95. Resoluting at public meeting Halifax, 1850.
63. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-115. Letter of Earl Grey 1850.
64. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 11-137. Second letter to Earl Grey 1851

65. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-153-4. Speech at Southampton 1851.
66. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm . 11-168. Speech on Railways and Colonization. Public meeting at Halifax 1851.
67. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-170. Speech on Railways and Colonization, Public Meeting at Halifax. 1851.
68. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-85. Speech on Halifax to Windsor Railway. Nova Scotian Assembly. 1850.
69. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 1-37
70. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1-39
71. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1-137 Speech on elective councils Nova Scotian Assembly. 1837
72. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 1-272. Speech on the resolutions Nova Scotian Assembly. 1840.
73. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 1-127. Speech on the twelve resolutions Nova Scotian Assembly, 1837.
74. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 1-197. Speech on the resolutions Nova Scotian Assembly, 1839.
75. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 1-222. Letters to Lord John Russell. 1839.
76. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm, 1-141. Speech on elective council Nova Scotian Assembly, 1837.
77. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 1-624. Letters to Lord John Russell. 1846.
78. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 11-281. Speech on the organization of the Empire, Nova Scotian Assembly. 1854.
79. Some "Canadian Constitutional problems-" Sir Clifford Sifton in the Canadians Historical Review. March 1922.
80. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 1-622. Letters to Lord John Russell 1846.
81. P. 10. Letter to Sir Francis Hincks in reply to speech of the Hon. Joseph Howe on the union of the North American Provinces. 1855.
82. Durham's Report (Mothurn) 207
83. Problem of the Commonwealth-Lionel Curtis. 43
84. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-495. Pamphlet on the organization of the Empire. London 1866.
85. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-289. Speech on the organization of the Empire. Nova Scotian Assembly 1854.
86. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-322. Letter to Francis Hincks London, 1855.

87. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 1-610 Letters to Lord John Russell 1846
88. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm- 11-118. Letter to Earl Grey. 1850
89. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm- 11-145 Speech at Southampton 1851
90. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm, 11-269 Speech on the organization of the empire. Nova Scotian Assembly. 1854.
91. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-286. Speech on the organization of the empire. Nova Scotian Assembly. 1854.
92. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-273. Speech on the organization of the empire. Nova Scotian Assembly. 1854.
93. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 11-150 Speech at Southampton 1851
94. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-277. Speech on the organization of the empire. Nova Scotia Assembly. 1854
95. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-277. Speech on the organization of the Empire, Nova Scotian Assembly. 1854.
96. Letter to Sir Francis Hincks in reply to the speech of Hon. Joseph Howe on the union of the North American Provinces-1855. "If he had enlarged his scheme he would have shown its impracticability."
97. Imperial Federation- G. R. Parkin (McMillan & Co. 1892) 72.
98. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm- 11-494. Pamphlet on the organization of the empire- London 1866.
99. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-495. Pamphlet on the organization of the empire- London 1866.
100. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 11-497. Pamphlet on the organization of the empire-London 1866.
101. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-498. Pamphlet on the organization of the empire-London 1866
102. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm- 11-499 Pamphlet on the organization of the empire- London 1866
103. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm- 11-501. Pamphlet on the organization of the empire-London. 1866.
104. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-501. Pamphlet on the organization of the empire -London 1866.
105. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-501. Pamphlet on the organization of the Empire-London 1866.
106. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm . 11-502 Pamphlet on the organization of the empire- London 1866

107. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-503-4. Pamphlet on the organization of the empire- London 1866.
108. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-504 Pamphlet on the organization of the empire-London 1866
109. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm 11-505 Pamphlet on the organization of the empire. London 1866
110. Imperial Federation- G. R. Parkin- 48
111. Problem of the Commonwealth- Curtis- 7
112. Problem of the Commonwealth- Curtis - 11.
- 113.
114. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-504. Pamphlet on the organization of the empire- London 1866
115. Imperial Federation- G. R. Parkin. 45.
116. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-497 . Pamphlet on the organization of the empire. London 1866
117. Imperial Federation. G. R. Parkin- 68-69-70
118. Problem of the Commonwealth- Curtis- 7
- 119.
120. "In commenting on the speech of A.R. McMaster before the Canadian Club of New York on the question of Canada's future constitutional development the Montreal Gazette says "Mr. McMaster's declaration... ..had one partly redeeming feature, it set forth in plain unequivocal terms an idea which sundry other Canadians have camouflaged in recent years by illusions to a new national status a fundamental constitutional change which has altered the position of this country toward the mother land, as a matter of fact no such change has taken place nor could it take place except by the assumption on the part of Canada of "the full stature of a Sovereign state" spoken of by Mr. McMaster. The present constitutional relationship gives the Dominion everything short of that so that any so called forward step must mean the severance of the slender thread which yet proves strong as steel in emergency."
121. Some Canadian Constitutional problems- Clifford Sifton.
122. Imperial Federation- G. R. Parkin- 16
123. Problem of the Commonwealth- Curtis- 99
124. Problem of the Commonwealth- Curtis- 122
125. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm 11-288. Speech of the organization of the empire-Nova Scotia Assembly 1854.
126. Greater Rome and Greater Britain-Sir Charles P. Lucas (Oxford) 171

127. Speech of A. R. McMaster before the Canadian Club of New York quoted from editorial Manitoba Free Press, January 20th 1923.
128. Speech of A. R. McMaster before the Canadian Club of New York quoted from editorial Manitoba Free Press, January 20th 1923.
129. In February 1923 Hon. Ernest LaPointe as the Canadian Commissioner was given full powers by the British Government to conclude the Halibut Fisheries Treaty between Canada and the United States. The treaty was signed for Canada by Mr. LaPointe and for the United States by
130. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-641 Address to the Y.M.C.A. at Ottawa, 1872.
131. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 1-19, 19
132. Tribune of Nova Scotia- W. L. Grant 139
133. Joseph Howe and the Anti-Confederation League-Lawrence J. Burpee- From the transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Series 3, Vol. 10 1916. Introduction, Page 410.
134. Recollections of Sixty years- Sir Charles Tupper- 11-42
135. Recollections of Sixty years- Sir Charles Tupper- 11-45
136. Speeches and Letters. Chisholm. 1-86. Letter to H.S. Chapman 1845.
137. Speeches and Letters. Chisholm. 1-86 Letter to H. S. Chapman 1845
138. Speeches and Letters- Speech on Canadian affairs.
139. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm 1-622. Letters to Lord John Russell 1846. "Apart from questions of internal administration..... there is another aspect in which our North American provinces should be viewed--there external relations to the parent country and to the empire at large.
140. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-25 Letter to George Moffatt President of the British American League, 1849.
141. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm 11-169, 170.
142. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 11-189. Compare the following extract from the Botheration articles. "As respects this road, we will only say that we have regarded it as a great improvement, tending towards social intercourse, out of which some sort of Sovereign or Political union might ultimately grow, when the populations of British America had rubbed out their divisional lines by familiar intercourse, and were prepared to unite in one free Parliament, and under one government."
143. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 11-199. Speech at Quebec 1851
144. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-261. Speech on free trade and protection. Nova Scotian Assembly 1853.



145. Resolution on a union of the North American Provinces. Nova Scotian Assembly 1861. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-368-369.
146. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-268. Speech on the organization of the empire. Nova Scotian Assembly. 1854.
147. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-283-284-285. Speech on the organization of the empire. Nova Scotian Assembly. 1854.
148. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-287. Speech on the organization of the empire. Nova Scotians Assembly, 1854.
149. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-292. Speech on the organization of the empire. Nova Scotian Assembly. 1854.
150. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-320. Reply to Francis Hincks. London 1855.
151. Recollections of Sixty years- Sir Charles Tupper. 11-49
152. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-369
153. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm 11-383. Speech at Niagara 1862.
154. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm 11-382. Speech at Niagara 1862.
155. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 11-483. This speech as reported is as follows: " A race against time is generally a hard race, but a race against Sunday morning at this hour is harder still. Twelve O'clock is fast approaching. There are a thousand things I might say, but there are only ten minutes to say them in. But I feel there is no man who ought to care less about having his voice now heard than I, for this reason, that in all the leading cities of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and in all the leading cities of Canada from Quebec to Niagara, wherever the interests of British America required vindication, I have been heard. I am not one of those who thank God that I am a Nova Scotian, but I have looked across the broad continent as the great territory which the Almighty has given us for an inheritance, and studied the mode by which it could be consolidated, the mode by which it could be united, the mode by which it could be made strong and vigorous, while the old flag still floats over the soil. I am delighted to see such a scene as this, which gives promise that that which was the dream of my boyhood will be realized before I die. The French gentleman who has spoken tonight in his mother tongue---that tongue which every accomplished gentleman is pleased to know--called to my mind the time when I was nearly shot in the streets of Halifax for offering a bottle of wine to a French-Canadian who came down here on public business. Those days happily passed away. Thank God, the time has come when her Majesty's subjects, whether English, French, Scotch or Irish, may meet together under the old flag and maintain common sentiments of love and unity, and look forward to the time when we shall make a new England here; not a new England with republican institutions, but a new England with monarchical institutions. I have always been in favor of the Intercolonial Railway. I wish every now and again to see the seething falls of Montmorenci, to see the Indians of Lorette dancing about the silvery streams;

I want to visit Canada not once in a lifetime, not once in five or six years, but once a year, twice a year. And I want the western men to come down here to see the Ocean, to come down when they have got the fever and ague, and bathe themselves here. The pool of Bethesda is nothing to the ocean and when they are bilious, and fever and ague racks their bones, let them leave Canada behind them and plunge into the cooling flood. Let them never forget that wealth and civilization and power dwell beside the sea, and he who attempts to found an empire without a junction in the ocean, endeavors to work out a problem with history proved to be impossible. With the territory of Canada, with the rivers of Nova Scotia, with the inexhaustible fisheries, what a country to live in! And why should union not be brought about? Is it because we wish to live and die in our insignificance, that we would sooner make money, rather than that our country should grow? God forbid. I feel it is too late to say much, though there is much to say. I know that the Canadian gentlemen will take in good part what I am going to say. I have always been in favor of uniting any two, three, four, or the whole five of the Provinces. Well, we know the history of the past in Canada; know what division had produced there, and how, under the Divine dispensation, they at last became united into the magnificent colony. There now come rumours across the land that they are going to split Canada into two parts again; that they are going to reduce that magnificent country to its low status of two Provinces instead of one. Oh, my friends, go back to your homes and say that there is at least one Nova Scotian honest enough to say to you this, that if you do that, you will commit an act of political suicide, and, although I ought not perhaps to give you the advice, I would rather see every public man upon both sides of politics crucified than I would divide Canada now that Canada is united. Join the Maritime Provinces if you can; but, at any rate, stick together---hold your own. Let the dog return to his vomit rather than Canada to division. In conclusion, I am pleased to think the day is rapidly approaching when the Provinces will be united, with one flag above our heads, one thought in our bosoms, with one Sovereign and one constitution.

156. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-434
157. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 11-434
158. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm 11-434. Howe's letter to Sir Charles Tupper August 16th, 1864
159. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-435 quoted from a private letter September 20th 1864.
160. Tribune of Canada W.L.Grant 139.
161. Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-608. "When the convention assembled at Quebec in 1854, I was upon the sea discharging the duties of Imperial fishery commissioner. Shortly after I returned the resolutions adopted at the conference were reported and became the subject of general conversation. Meetings were held at Temperance hall to consider and debate them. At one of these which I attended I found some merchants of whom were old personal friends of mine confronted by Archibald Tupper and McCully and however zealous and well informed, rather overmatched in fluency and tactics.



Though it was quite apparent that the question was too important to be hastily disposed of and though a reference to the people seemed by a reasonable demand as the season advanced it became known that no such reference was to be permitted, and that the gentlemen who had charge of the measure intended to rush it through both houses when Parliament assembled. Up to this time I had taken no part in the controversy.

I applied to the delegates to know what their intentions were and inferred from their answer that the current rumors were correct. I at once decided to prevent if I could the possibility of legislation that winter. I studied the scheme carefully....."Letters to the people of Nova Scotia.

Speeches and Letters-Chisholm. 11-553. "No man can be more weary of this life and turmoil than I and why should I not be weary of it? For eighteen months I have hardly thought my own thoughts or been able to attend to my family duties. You remember that a British Admiral- Collingwood I think- was for years afloat on the Mediterranean he was wearied to death, and pined and longed for the hours of rest and peace in the bosom of his home-- so I pine and long, but until these dark clouds pass away none of us can do more than hold our ground." Speech in favor of Repeal-public meeting Halifax 1868.

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"The opposition to confederation in Nova Scotia did not originate with me. For weeks after the convention broke up at Quebec I took no part in the controversy, nor did I express any opinion even to my personal friends, until the delegates set systematically to work to make the people of the Province believe that I was in favor of their scheme----I was reluctant to go back into political controversies and asked my old friend Archibald to relieve me from the necessity by giving me an assurance that any measure that might be proposed should be sent for ratification or rejection by the people. He declined to do this, and it was only when satisfied that the gentlemen who had prepared this scheme intended to seek shelter from all responsibility, under an Act of parliament, that I took the field in opposition." Letter to Sir John C.D. May.

162. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-610. Letters to the people of Nova Scotia. 1871.
163. Correspondence of Sir John MacDonald- Sir Joseph Pope-(Oxford) 13 letter from the Hon. John A. MacDonald to the Hon. Charles Tupper Quebec, November 14th 1864.
164. Correspondence of Sir John MacDonald-Sir Joseph Pope-(Oxford) 17 from the Hon. Charles Tupper to the Hon. John A. MacDonald. Halifax December 13th, 1864.
165. The Botheration Articles Number 8- from the Halifax Chronicle February 1st 1865.
166. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-464. Letter to the Hon. Isaac Buchanan, 1866 June 20.
167. Speeches and Letters- Chisholm. 11-480. Confederation Pamphlet London 1866.

- 168- Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 11-470
- 169- Bothereation Articles Number 2. from the Halifax Chronicle January 13th 1865
- 170- Bothereation Articles Number 1. from the Halifax Chronicle January 11th 1865.
- 171- Speeches and Letters- Chisholm 11-490-491
- 172- Bothereation articles Number 2. from the Halifax Chronicle, January 13th 1865. "The General government having none of the duties to discharge which give weight and dignity to the government of the United States the provincial governments are to be stripped of half their functions in order that it may have something to do."
- 173. Bothereation Articles Number 1. from the Halifax Chronicle, January 11th 1865.
- 174. Quoted by Archibald MacMicken in "Confederation in Nova Scotia" University Magazine Dec. 1919.
- 175. Bothereation Articles Number 2, from the Halifax Chronicle, January 13th, 1865.
- 176. Joseph Howe and the Anti Confederation League--Lawrence J. Burpee--From the transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. Series 3, Vol. 10, Page 457. Letter from Howe to William J. Stairs. London March 15th 1867.
- 177. Joseph Howe and the Anti Confederation League--Lawrence J. Burpee--from the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. Series 3, Vol. 10. Page 435. Letter from Howe to William J. Stairs. London October 12th 1866.
- 178. Joseph Howe and the Anti Confederation League--Lawrence J. Burpee from the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. Series 3, Vol. 10. Page 439, 440, 441, 442. Letter from Howe to Lord Normanby London, November 22nd 1866.
- 179. e.g. "Talk of a union of the provinces which if unaccompanied by other provisions would lead to separation" Speech on the organization of the empire. Nova Scotian Assembly. 1854.
- 180. Joseph Howe and the Anti Confederation League--Lawrence J. Burpee--from the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Series 3; Vol. 10. Page 463. Letter of William Garvie to Nova Scotia Anti Confederates, London, March 15th 1867.
- 181. Joseph Howe and the Anti Confederation League--Lawrence J. Burpee--from the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. Series 3. Vol. 10 Page 460. Letter from Howe to William J. Stairs, London March 29, 1867.